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East Europe Report

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29 MAY 1987

EAST EUROPE REPORT

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GRAIN PRODUCERS NOTE INCREASED RESISTANCE TO FUNGICIDES

East Berlin FELDWIRTSCHAFT in German Vol 28 No 3, Mar 87 pp 106-8

[Article by Dr U.Burth, Prof.Dr. H.J. Mueller, Dr L. Adam, Institute for Plant Protection Research, Kleinmachnow, at the GDR Academy for Agricultural Sciences: "On the Problem of Resistance to Fungicides in Grain Production"]

[Text] The use of fungicides against stem, leaf and ear diseases in GDR grain production began in 1978 with the application of Tridemorph (Calixine) against barley powdery mildew. On the basis of a liquid (carbendacim [bercema bitosen]?), fungicide use was extended beyond powdery mildew to pseudocercospora herpotrichoides in the early 1980's. The area of treatment steadily expanded from 1983 on, following imports and domestic formulation of Tridemorph, Propiconazol and Triadimefon as well as the domestic production of Aldimorph. By 1986 it covered 1.43 million hectares (56 percent) of the total grain cultivation area (see graph).

The Problem of Resistance to Fungicides

About 100 years ago, the Bordeaux broth was developed against pseudo-mildew of grapes. The use of fungicides in farming has steadily increased ever since. In the beginning only copper and sulfur preparations were available and confined to use against leaf diseases in fruit, grape and potato cultivation. After World War II, mainly organic fungicides prevailed due to their efficiency and outstanding compatibility with the respective plants. They are derived from the active substance groups of dithiocarbamates (Ziram, Ferban, Zineb, Maneb, Mancozeb), thiurames (?) and phthalamides (Captan).

All these fungicides offer protection and need to provide a protective coating on the plant surface before infection. The protective preparations block fungoid growth in several places, and their effect is largely non-specific (multisite inhibitors). Despite intensive use, few problems of resistance to these fungicides have been observed, and they are still insignificant.

Benzimidazol fungicides (Benomyl, Carbendazim and others), developed in the late 1960's, were the first systemic preparations. These are absorbed by the plant after application and carried to the operative location by the process of transpiration. The systemic effect has various benefits, in particular in view of its curative effect and independence of weather conditions once the

substance has been absorbed. However, these benefits operate only if the most important parameters for application are observed as the basic requirement for the safe action of the fungicides. When using fungicides against fungus-parasitical *pseudocercospora herpotrichoides* for example, it is imperative to apply them directly to the base of the stalk.

Virtually all systemic fungicides have a very specific effect, usually confined to one site of attack by fungoid growth (unisite inhibitors).

It is due to this specific effect that resistance problems surfaced quite soon after the introduction of systemic fungicides (Schroeder and Providenti, 1969). The effect of the substance may be reduced or avoided altogether by a genetic change in the fungus (by mutations, for instance). Moreover, resistant fungi do not arise only by mutations following the use of systemic fungicides—a small amount may already be present in the natural population even before such use. The repeated application of systemic fungicides decimates the non-resistant stock, while resistant strains can freely develop, with the result that use of the substance is increasingly ineffective. Resistance is normally not confined to a particular substance but involves all fungicides that inhibit the same site in fungoid growth (cross resistance).

Knowledge of the site of inhibition, therefore, is an important precondition for meeting these dangers and ensuring the long-range successful application of fungicides.

The Resistance Situation in Grain Cultivation

It took the introduction of systemic fungicides in the 1970's to make fungicide application prevail against stem, leaf and ear diseases of grain. Some West European countries were specially quick to develop fungicide use in grain cultivation. Roughly 65 percent of the grain cultivation area is there treated with fungicides—on the average 1.7 times. Wheat is in first place, barley slightly below the average, and rye and oat growing fields are sprayed least of all (Duttwiller, 1983).

Among five areas of use in grain cultivation, resistance problems of importance for day-to-day operations have been encountered as follows:

- Large-scale resistance developed by snow mildew (*fusarium nivale* Ces) to disinfectants produced on a basis of benzimidazole in northern and Western Europe (Radtke, 1983; Olvang, 1984; Hartke, 1985);
- Resistance by grain mildew (*erysiphe graminis* DC) to Ethirimol (Milgo E) in Western Europe, specially England (Walmsley-Woodward and others, 1979; Hollomon and others, 1985);
- Resistance by the organism causing net blotch (*pyrenophora teres* Dr) to Triadimenol in New Zealand (Sheridan and others, 1985);
- Resistance of wheat powdery mildew (*erysiphe graminis* DC) to fungicides from the triazole group in Western Europe (Butters and others, 1984; Buchenauer, Hellwald, 1985; De Waard and others, 1986);

- Widespread resistance by the organism causing *pseudocercospora herpotrichoides* [Fron] deighton to benzimidazole fungicides in Western Europe (Cavelier and others, 1985; Fehrmann, 1985; Griffin, King, 1985).

Though not all the above mentioned are relevant to the GDR, they reveal the seriousness of the situation and the necessity for the timely initiation of steps likely to reduce or deflect these dangers. Snow mildew resistance to benzimidazole based disinfectants is the consequence of the replacement of mercury based grain disinfectants in the FRG. Wheat powdery mildew resistance to triazole fungicides, including triazole based disinfectants such as Baytan-Universal, is of the utmost relevance, and so is the resistance of *pseudocercospora herpotrichoides* to benzimidazole fungicides, because internationally we only have two groups of active substances available to fight this pathogen.

The Situation in the GDR

Table 1 provides a survey of the fungicides used in GDR grain production. This reveals that several preparations are available for all important areas of application. To avoid the development of resistant strains, though, it is not enough to change preparations. Change must also relate to the groups of active substances, operating with different affective mechanisms. In this respect the situation is much more critical. Fungicides actually are derived from only a few groups of active substances, so that there are not many possibilities for changing groups of substances so as to inhibit various sites in fungoid growth.

Up to now benzimidazol fungicides were the only group of active substances available against *pseudocercospora herpotrichoides*. We know that these substances are particularly threatened by the development of resistant strains. The situation has improved somewhat following the appearance of Prochloraz from the imidazole group. Coupled with the observance of subsequent fungicide treatments, these substances are to be used only on the basis of application coefficients and decisionmaking aids. If a benzimidazole preparation alone is available, it should preferably be used against stalk breakage.

It would be entirely irresponsible to more than once apply benzimidazole fungicide, and especially bercema-bitose N (licensed also for use on grain), to a wheat field. The situation is rather better with regard to wheat powdery mildew, because morpholines and triazoles represent two different groups of active substances. It is recommended on principle to prefer the morpholines (Falimorph) against wheat powdery mildew, because so far it appears that this group of substances is least threatened by resistance problems. Morpholines are therefore the substances of choice whenever wheat powdery mildew is the chief pathogen. In the case of triazoles, on the other hand, we already have many indications of a loss of efficiency accompanying intensive use, specially of Triadimefon. The broadly effective Triazole Bayleton liquid, Tilt 250 EC and Impact should be used mainly wherever morpholines are not allowed. The application of Tilt 250 EC and Impact, for example, is indicated for winter

wheat to combat ear disease and for barley against net blotch. For this group of substances also, the principle of conservative use on the basis of application coefficients applies—triazole should not be sprayed more than once on any wheat field. Baytan-Universal grain disinfectant must definitely be taken into account in this context, because it is based on triadimenol. Disinfection by triadimenol must be judged equivalent to full triazole treatment in the meaning of the development of resistant strains.

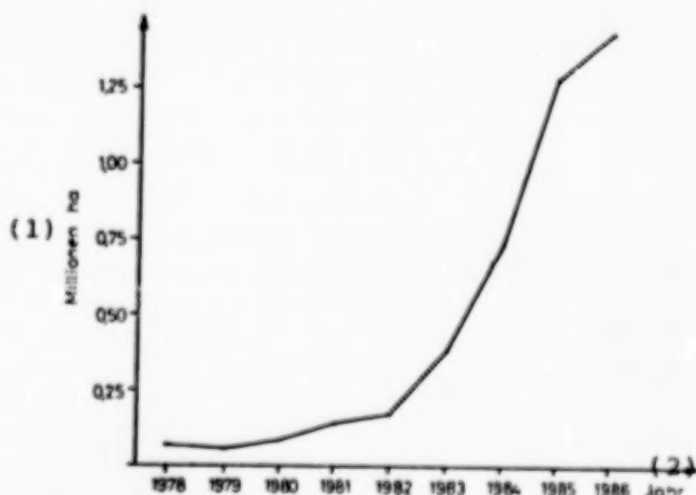
Conclusions for Fungicide Use in the GDR

At the present time two feasible measures are envisaged to counteract the development of resistant strains of pathogens:

- The most conservative possible use of groups of active substances threatened by the development of resistant strains (in the GDR this applies in particular to benzimidazoles and triazoles),
- Alternating preparations with different groups of active substances in order to hit various sites in fungoid metabolism.

These measures need to be stringently enforced in grain production in order to retain for the longest time possible the beneficial effects of fungicide application—impressively documented in recent years. Mistakes in strategy caused the rapid development of resistant strains in other countries and absolutely need to be avoided, especially those that involved the multiple and consequent use of preparations from one group of active substances. The GDR offers satisfactory preconditions, because the use of grain fungicides proceeds in the responsibility and under the supervision of qualified plant protection agronomists. It is imperative always to use fungicides on grain on the basis of application coefficients and to make sure that fungicides from one group of active substances are not used more than once on one wheat field.

Graph: The Development of Fungicide Use in GDR Grain Cultivation



Feldwirtschaft 28 (1987) 3

Key:

1. Million hectares

2. Year

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EXPERT ON AGRARIAN POLICIES, NEGLECT OF EASTERN FARMLANDS

Warsaw ODRODZENIE in Polish 7, 14, 21, 28 Mar 87

[Interview with Prof Ryszard Manteuffel by Stanislaw Mienkowski, date and place not given: "Walks with Prof Ryszard Manteuffel"]

[7 Mar 87 p 6; "To Live, One Must Eat"]

[Text] [Question] Professor, you have been accused of seeing nothing beyond agriculture.

[Answer] I do see indeed, but it is true that I still believe agriculture is the main problem.

[Question] Why?

[Answer] There are several reasons. First of all, agriculture still occupies an important place in the national economy. It accounted for 16.3 percent of the national income in 1984. Certainly, many people will be surprised to read that the quite obsolete food-processing industry is responsible for 9.5 percent of the national income among other industries, i.e. as much as the construction industry and more than engineering (5.5 percent), textile (4.7) and fuel (3.6 percent). Besides, it should be recalled that agriculture annually supplies 45 percent of renewable raw materials used in our country, and the food economy contributes up to 12 percent of exports. One-third of the population lives off agricultural work, while citizens allocate 60 percent of their income for food and condiments.

[Question] This sounds like a glorification of agriculture and farmers.

[Answer] Rather it is the awareness that you may or may not have a sentimental attachment to agriculture, but one thing is certain: in order to live, you must eat.

[Question] Provided there is something to eat, and we've had mixed experience with that.

[Answer] This is primarily a result of errors in agrarian policy. Let me mention a few. Instead of banking on efficient family farms, there was a

protracted consideration of whether socialism and the existence of the individual sector can be reconciled. The schematic nature of relations between rural and urban areas facilitates isolation and inefficiency of outside supply (merely 5 percent of industrial output is allocated for the needs of agriculture). Monopolization of the agricultural market, technological backwardness (compared to the city) and deficiencies in the rural socio-technical infrastructure developed steadily. Finally, unfavorable land tenure in both the private and socialized sectors was a factor...

[Question] ... Until in the early 1980s a crusade for "self-sufficiency in food" in our country had to be declared. Is this a tactic or a strategy?

[Answer] At first, this slogan, compelled by circumstances (barren markets, declining production, Western sanctions) rather than freely opted for, was a tactical political move. Later, it spawned a program and amendments to the constitution and is now treated as a strategy for the future.

[Question] However, the above self-sufficiency, and especially its interpretation, cause much controversy.

[Answer] This is so because many interpret this notion narrowly, as autarky. Meanwhile, the idea is to ensure domestically basic agricultural products, while the rest are to be imported against equal exports of agricultural and food items. This does not mean setting our sights low, but rather accepting a certain minimum, which, by the way, we are already approaching.

[Question] The question is--at what level?

[Answer] To be sure, production of food items per capita has not grown since 1979. However, if we view nutrition in terms of calorific intake, volume and other statistics, it is satisfactory.

[Question] Well, the erstwhile meat consumption is not likely to be achieved again before the year 2000.

[Answer] This can only make us healthier. However, I do not think that it makes the economy healthier, since short supply and poor quality of products detract from our export offer.

[Question] The model is no trifling matter. At present, it is established arbitrarily and adjusted to the current domestic supply. What guarantee do we have that the food situation will not deteriorate in the event of bad weather?

[Answer] This is a problem for a country where agricultural production has no spare capacity, and there is not enough to accumulate stocks and reserves for an eventual poor harvest, which cannot be ruled out.

[Question] In other words, self-sufficiency does not yet guarantee food security?

[Answer] No, because food security involves something broader. It ensures independence in staples (grains, potatoes, milk, meat, vegetables, sugar and

fats) and provides for accumulating reserves inside the country and achieving a surplus in foreign trade.

[Question] Even if we are still far from food security, we are approaching self-sufficiency at too high a cost. After all, it would make better sense to, for example, purchase a kilogram of sugar abroad for 10 cents than spend domestically 100 zlotys for that same kilogram.

[Answer] A healthy economy is not afraid of large, properly structured imports. For the economy, it is crucial to be able to offset them by large and profitable exports.

[Question] Unfortunately, the present self-sufficiency has been achieved at the expense of excessive reductions in agricultural imports. Will these drastic cuts cause even worse consequences?

[Answer] The consequences are already upon us. A reduction in protein fodder imports (oil meal and oil seed), given a shortage and the generally poor quality of domestic ones, has prolonged breeding cycles, and we had to import meat. The shortage of pesticides and insecticides and of veterinary medicines increases losses of agricultural products and foodstuffs. Likewise, the influx of new technologies to agriculture and the food industry has been reduced.

[Question] I think that self-sufficiency in food is not a matter for agriculture alone.

[Answer] It certainly is not. It is also the responsibility of those who furnish means of production, scientific input and investment, who organize overall production management and set the income policy for farmers. We need to debunk the myth that the farmer decides everything as much as we need to discard the notion that food must be cheap. Indeed, it must be generally available always and everywhere, it must be of good quality and varied, but this is not to say that it should be cheap.

[14 Mar 87 p 6; "Ruptures"]

[Text] [Question] Once again, we are hearing that hard times are ahead, because we are giving excessive preference to the agricultural lobby, which has powerful sponsors in state administration, in the Catholic Church, in political parties and in the army.

[Answer] I would very much like for this to be the case.

[Question] Is it not?

[Answer] If it were, would it make any sense to talk about the development program for agriculture being in jeopardy or the need to prepare a report on the status and trends in the food complex?

[Question] Why the pessimism? After all, in our first "walk" you convincingly documented the continued large contribution of agriculture to the overall production potential of the economy.

[Answer] That, however, is no reason to get excited. A large contribution by agriculture is typical of less developed countries. Despite this, our agriculture is not being spoiled.

[Question] In light of that, what are the characteristics of our agriculture?

[Answer] Continuity of structures (while we could also use restructuring), underdevelopment of infrastructure, weakness of the so-called agricultural contractors (e.g. merely 5 percent of output of the industrial complex is supplied to agriculture), a considerably higher share of investment in socialized agriculture and low efficiency.

[Question] I would also add to this the tremendous waste taking place between the field and the table. I would like to dwell on the low efficiency of agriculture.

[Answer] Let us not exaggerate.

[Question] Well, it follows from the data I have that labor productivity in Polish agriculture is 3 times lower than in non-agricultural sectors, 1.5 times lower than in agriculture of the socialist countries, 3 times lower than in West Europe and as much as 13 times lower compared to US agriculture.

[Answer] Oh, you are simplifying. First of all, everywhere the efficiency of agriculture is lower than that achieved in other sectors. Second, the existing condition owes mainly to factors independent of agriculture which limit its ability for expanded reproduction. Therefore, it is necessary to finance agriculture through subsidies, credits and price increases (after all, this is the case in all developed countries).

[Question] If you were to rank the causes of low efficiency of agriculture, how would the table look?

[Answer] I would put on it: unfavorable structure of farms (private and socialized), low technical capitalization of labor (it is not comprehensive--there is a tractor, but accessory implements are hard to get), shortcomings in the sphere of producer expertise and consulting (this entails the gap in implementing progressive solutions), weaknesses in the sphere of services to the farmer (there is only one person employed in services per 8 to 10 farmers). These are the barriers; their perpetuation threatens us not only with stagnation, but also with collapse.

[Question] What are the chances for changing the present conditions?

[Answer] There always are chances. Large outlays and investment are not necessary right away. A great deal can be achieved by suspending the privileges of the socialized sector in deliveries of industrial means of

production (machinery, fertilizer, fodder, coal) where efficiency of their management remains low despite the reform.

[Question] It was calculated that grain production decreased by 4 million tons only due to the transfer of land to this sector in 1971 through 1980. If other assets were to be included in calculations, the value of lost benefits may be estimated at 10 to 12 million tons of grain.

[Answer] Yes, of course, but there are also reserves in private farming. It was calculated that efficiency of production on farms larger than 15 hectares increased from 21 to 44 percent compared to farms under 3 hectares (comparative data by the IERIGZ [Institute of Agricultural Economics and the Food Economy] for the years 1970--1973 and 1980--1982). What is the upshot? The prevalence of the peasant sector reduces the burden on the national economy and facilitates less expensive production of food. However, at present the land is not enough, farmers need better means of production (machinery, fertilizers, fodder) and more of them, economic support (prices and income parity) and better management of the output of their work (processing industry and exports).

[Question] Can something be done without investment?

[Answer] Oh yes. Say, change the crop mix, use proper agronomy in applying fertilizer and plant protection, make changes in hog fattening and feeding cattle, improve the sanitary condition of cowsheds and stalls etc.

[Question] This involves the production sphere. What about the rest?

[Answer] Facilitate through economic and legal means a rational structure of farms, equality in purchasing land from the PFZ [State Land Fund], elimination of monopolies in services, procurement and processing, restoration of the extension service, preservation of profitability of production and income parity.

[Question] At times, I get the impression that the instruments of economic policy are not adjusted to the changing conditions.

[Answer] Rather, they are not keeping up with these changes, whereas they should anticipate and promote certain processes. An alarming drop in the income of farmers, cattle herd and milk procurement, weaker growth of the hog herd and declining interest in [purchasing] land are the signs of this. These fluctuations suggest that we are facing the beginning of a dangerous rupture. The coal scandal is not the only reason. Fatigue due to waiting for what was to be leads to frustration and snuffs out initiative.

[Question] Does this mean abandoning the guarantees given to agriculture?

[Answer] Declarations are being supported, and ambitious programs impose obligations, while practice departs further and further from these guidelines. This is demonstrated by a decline of investment in agriculture, growing financial burden on farmers, neglect of obligations to the food economy by industry, poorer supply of food processing (with the exception of elevators,

bakeries and dairy plants) and the failure to set up a Bank of Reserves (despite particularly high yields in recent years), as well as stagnation in the rural infrastructure.

[21 Mar 87 p 6; "What Kind of Living?"]

[Question] A young farmer operating on 26 hectares recently wrote with both rebuke and envy: "Poland is being set up so as to make it comfortable for the urban population. Houses are built for them, water, gas and heating mains, phone cables and roads are put in for them, streets are swept and trash is collected, maternity schools, schools and shops are built next door. All of that is done by the state, often at the expense of the rural population." It is no wonder that those most active continue to go to the city.

[Answer] This is true; however, the socialized economy, at least for now, does not welcome the active ones, but rather pays them support and puts on them a muzzle of passiveness. Meanwhile, the farmer must be resourceful, active and innovative with regard to land, cattle and the environment (his village and offices), or else he won't stay above water. Those who are afraid of these hazards prefer to migrate to the city.

[Question] There must be some more significant reasons for this.

[Answer] In general, I see four main reasons: the lure (often illusory) of working in the city, the lack of jobs in rural areas outside agriculture, continuing uncertainty among farmers as to the stability of the private sector (it results from the behavior of a segment of political and administrative authorities) and, finally, the incomparably worse infrastructure in rural areas.

[Question] In your opinion, which of these reasons is the greatest obstacle?

[Answer] It is the underdeveloped infrastructure. This sphere will decide the future of rural areas and agriculture itself.

[Question] It appears, however, that much misunderstanding has piled up around infrastructure.

[Answer] The infrastructure, which is believed to be so important, embraces the production-technical, social-service and general spheres. The last sphere includes, among other things, a still inadequate road system, which is rightly considered an opening into the world (it is extremely important for production and for civilization--it facilitates taking children to school, adults to offices and brings rural areas closer to the city), the power grid (a rapid re-electrification is needed) and the water supply system (thousands of tank cars shuttling among villages like the Gypsy caravans of the past testify to that).

[Question] Let us look in more detail at the production-technical infrastructure.

[Answer] It includes land reclamation (unfortunately, we are at a "low point"), crafts (old professions are disappearing, while new ones prefer to operate in cities) and small-scale local industries. However, the greatest adjustments, and most urgent ones at that, should be required of rural retail trade (which provides services, supplies the means of production and procures the fruit of farmer's labor).

[Question] You have said nothing about social and living conditions, whereas the GUS data for 1984 show that almost two-thirds of new buildings in the non-socialized sector were earmarked for non-agricultural purposes, mainly for apartments. Not so long ago, the proportion was exactly the opposite.

[Answer] The change you have brought up is very significant. It means that people in villages want not only to have new apartments, but also to have conveniences.

[Question] So far, it is just a wish.

[Answer] Well, not entirely. Between 1970 and 1983, the number of houses with running water increased 2 times, those with bathrooms--2.5 times and those with central heating--almost 2 times. Therefore, young people, and especially women, have an opportunity to improve their living conditions.

[Question] I suggest that we do not succumb to euphoria, because the initial levels were very low. Even after this severalfold growth, only 7 percent of apartments have bathrooms, 21 percent have toilets, 17 percent have central heating and merely 2 percent are hooked to gas lines.

[Answer] However, this is an essential avenue of transformation, which may bring rural areas closer to the city in this sphere.

[Question] Does this exhaust the notion of social and service infrastructure?

[Answer] Not at all! Also included are health care (rural health care centers increasingly suffer from a shortage of doctors), education (the number of teachers without requisite qualifications is growing at an alarming rate), cultural facilities (many clubs and cinemas are disappearing from the rural landscape) and supply of consumer goods (unfortunately, rural areas receive goods of poorer quality and fewer of them). We should also keep in mind jobs for women.

[Question] It seems to me that your concern is exaggerated; after all, the profession of farmer is being feminized.

[Answer] This is true. However, we should anticipate a realistic situation, already apparent in the West, when this profession becomes male-dominated. Women will work in agriculture less and less, while increasingly restricting themselves to the work of a housewife, to the role of wife and mother, without which the very existence of family farming is inconceivable.

[Question] Is this supposed to be the ray of hope and the incentive for women to stay in rural areas?

[Answer] Certainly so. I am talking about the infrastructure and the young people on purpose, because the former will determine whether the young people (and especially women) stay back. In their turn, they will determine the outlook for the rural areas and the model of Polish agriculture in the late 20th--early 21st century. However, for this to happen, young people should be helped by legal, economic and technical means, so that they will be able not only to survive, but live with dignity in rural areas.

[28 Mar 87 p 6; "Agricultural Boondocks"]

[Question] I am beginning to get the impression that, as a matter of fact, our agriculture lacks everything.

[Answer] Rather almost everything, because land is still abundant.

[Question] Young people, however, are more attracted by the city. They would rather have a state job than be attached for life to the generally poor hectares.

[Answer] I am of the opinion that there is no poor soil, put only poor masters. On the other hand, for them to be good farmers we should help them get their priorities straight, provide them with the necessary means and ensure the profitability of work on the farm. Despite our soil being among the worst in Europe, we can squeeze considerably more out of it.

[Question] However, there are regions, especially in the east of Poland, where large areas of no-man's land are lying fallow, and you will not find anything but weeds there.

[Answer] First of all, this land is ours, not no-man's. Second, this land is registered in the so-called State Land Fund. Third, those managing it will be taken to account in the future for bringing about this situation and the striking resourcelessness in managing the land.

[Question] There must be a reason for that. Could it be that the inclination to collectivize is showing itself?

[Answer] This is a part of the reason. You know, there is a general change of the guard in agriculture as well. The problem is that political and administrative authorities cannot take advantage of this opportunity. If it is recognized that transferring the land to the socialized sector is the most expensive way (because an entire infrastructure has to be created), then we should encourage private farmers. This should not be verbal encouragement, as is the case most often, but low purchase prices for lands out of crop, readily available loans, tax exemptions, greater availability of equipment etc.

[Question] Much hope was attached to your concept of agricultural settlement.

[Answer] Unfortunately, such hopes were quickly buried in the desks of high-ranking ministerial officials. Apparently, once again the fear was that private estates will spring up along the eastern border of Poland, and this

may conjure up the image of settlement after 1920. Apparently, it was decided that it is better to let hundreds of thousands of hectares lie fallow and go on stuffing the wallets of Western farmers.

[Question] Maybe it is better from the economic point of view to leave these areas to "their own devices" and to marshal the funds we have to Poznan and Opole provinces, or the places where we can manage better?

[Answer] It is absurd. There are good managers in the east as well. I recall an estate in the Wilno area, which was bringing continuous losses to its owner. He leased it. The new operator stopped planting root crops (because everything had to be shipped out) and switched to milk and dairy production on site. In this fashion, he did away with expensive transportation and began to turn a considerable profit soon. Therefore, a lot depends on motivation.

[Question] This is true; however, even enlightened farmers and heads of socialized farms state that now you cannot support yourself working the land.

[Answer] I am of a different opinion. It is open to debate whether the level and structure of prices for agricultural products are adequate, or whether non-agricultural production is more profitable. Nonetheless, I say that interest in the land and its productivity will be completely different after sufficient investment is made (land reclamation is accelerated, the acidity of soil reduced, contempt for manure eliminated and meadows and pasture not treated marginally anymore).

[Question] You mentioned manure; meanwhile, after the unpleasant experience with dung it may be difficult to expect any response.

[Answer] What you have said confirms that we are becoming the agricultural boondocks of Europe. Let us note: we have plenty of meadows, but we cannot make silage. Our "backward" grandfathers planted papilionaceous plants, serradella among others, which were used as both fodder and fertilizer; today, most of the young people do not know what that is. Same with the manure or dung which you mentioned. In the West, I have come across it next to palaces; it gave off no repugnant smell: it was like a person after a shower. Contempt in our country owes to the sanitary inspection service and the non-professionals making decisions on our agriculture. We went as far as to make a curse out of a blessing in our contempt for manure: we prefer mineral fertilizers, which are still in short supply, expensive and dangerous for human health and the environment.

[Question] I suggest that we return for a moment to land tenure...

[Answer] With all due respect, a plant could not care less on whose field (belonging to a farmer or a cooperative) it grows and what size the field is.

[Question] That may be so, but the size does influence the yields and economics of farming.

[Answer] Indeed, because this has to do with the quantity of menial, intellectual and embodied labor of the farmer. Therefore, the farm and the field should not be so large that a farmer cannot take care of everything on his own on with a good crew.

[Question] In other words, the greater the labor supply, the larger the farm should be?

[Answer] Yes. This is why we should not call for a rapid increase in the area of private farms (which I hear quite frequently), if we are not in a position to compensate for the shrinking labor force by deliveries of machinery, mechanization of cattle tending, chemical processes etc. Whoever neglects this truism will bring on a decline in agricultural production and a worsening of the nutritional standard of the general populace.

[Question] Is this to say that the farmer should first be equipped with the necessary machinery and made independent of the outside system of services, which, incidentally, fails often?

[Answer] The experience of Western countries suggests that, on the one hand, a surplus of technical capacity if needed, while on the other, basic equipment must be owned by the farmer. On large 20-hectare farms this equipment is profitable and is used efficiently.

[Question] I understand that there are no areal, technical etc. restrictions on socialized farms.

[Answer] However, there is the issue of managing the entire farm efficiently. The farmers say "he who walks his field gets the good harvest," and it is true. A head of a cooperative or a state farm who knows his fields only from the map in his office and cowsheds and services as seen from the window, cannot scrape up in himself, and by the same token, in his staff the motivation to work "as if it were yours" in the long run.

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CSO:2600/501

YOUNG FARMERS MEET, SHARE CONCERNS ON POLICIES

Warsaw DZIENNIK LUDOWY in Polish 25 Mar 87 p 1

[Article by Jerzy Chlodnicki: "Horse Provided the Arguments"]

[Text] State policy with regard to rural areas and agriculture in light of the resolutions of the joint 11th Plenum of the NK ZSL [Chief Committee of the United Peasant Party] and PZPR CC and the 10th PZPR Congress were the topics at a meeting of rural youth sponsored by the Provincial Board of the ZMW [Rural Youth Union] in Zielona Gora. Chairman of the ZSL Provincial Committee Janusz Tomawski, representatives of the Provincial Administration, the WOPR [Provincial Center for Agricultural Progress] and the WZK10R [Provincial Union of Farmers and Agricultural Circles and Organizations] attended the meeting of ZMW members.

The participants in the meeting discussed how to facilitate improvements in the quality of life, and not only in the villages and gminas of the Lubusko area. The lack of means of agricultural production, such as fertilizers, chemicals and coal, is a topic continuously brought up at all rural gatherings. The young people discussed these matters without unnecessary emotions. They take a realistic view of the situation and want provisions on rural areas and agriculture in PZPR and ZSL documents to be finally implemented. They are aware that this is a condition for achieving self-sufficiency in food in our country.

The flight of young people from rural areas to the city gives rise to concern. Young people want to live and work in rural areas, provided that they receive due remuneration for the long hours of hard work, so they can not only live better, but also invest in the farm.

Investment is getting considerably more expensive, but it makes the work easier and, consequently, increases profit. Meanwhile, income parity for the rural population compared to urban population is still too low.

One of the speakers made a graphic comparison, providing a specific example of the arrogance of the authorities. Summing up his statement, he said: "By mechanizing agriculture, the peasant has been robbed of an argument. Having driven a tractor or a car, he comes into the office without a whip. Hopefully, such arguments will not be called for anywhere."

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SMALL CHANCE OF REGAINING 1980 MEAT CONSUMPTION LEVEL BY 1990

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 24 Feb 87 p 4

[Interview with Prof Zdzislaw Grochowski, chairman of the team for the food economy of the Committee for Projecting the Development of the Country "Poland 2000," by Marek Kluczek; date and place not given: "Success Does Not Depend on Farmers Alone..."]

[Text] [Question] The program for the development of agriculture and the food economy provides for achieving self-sufficiency in food before 1990. The end of the decade is drawing closer. Are these plans indeed becoming a reality?

[Answer] Yes, and successes in agriculture bear out the optimistic projections. Self-sufficiency in food, which should be defined as securing a surplus in foreign trade in food and agricultural products, should be achieved before 1990. However, we still will not be able to restore the level of meat consumption from 6 years ago. In 1980, the average Pole ate 74 kilograms of meat, and in 1990 he will most likely eat 65 to 66 kilograms. Let us keep in mind that early in this decade feeding slaughter cattle required imports of about 10 million tons of grain and fodder. At present, only 3.6 million tons are imported. After all, we cannot force the production of meat at the expense of the country incurring further debt...

[Question] In this to say that the year 1990 will still see meat ration cards?

[Answer] I believe that they should disappear from our market sooner. Deliveries of slaughter cattle, not small to begin with, are growing constantly. However, setting price ratios which would protect the market is needed. Relative meat prices have dropped by more than 25 percent compared to 1982. In the 1970s, it was possible to purchase about 50 kilograms of meat for the average monthly salary. At present, we could afford 80 kilograms. As of now, agriculture is not able to handle a demand that high.

[Question] Meanwhile, there is talk of the need to restrict the increase in the hog herd due to the fodder shortage. Is it true that once again there are too many hogs given the resources of fodder inside our country?

[Answer] For now, that is not so. However, it is true that the growth of the hog herd is outstripping the growth of fodder crop production. This does not facilitate the accumulation of reserves which would mitigate the consequences of eventual poor harvests. In this situation, a drop in crops caused by, say, unfavorable weather, may bring about a breakdown in hog breeding. Hence it is necessary to adjust the size of the herd to the resources in the silos in a well-considered and planned fashion. Imported high-protein fodder provides a certain additional reserve. When used in feeding hogs, it enables us to better use domestic fodder. In 1976 [as published; 1986 is called for], we increased purchases of such fodder by about 0.5 million tons compared to the years 1982 through 1985.

[Question] It follows from the above that plant production should still outstrip animal production...

[Answer] Yes; however, later it will be the other way around. The demand of the economy for plant production is growing slowly. Therefore, given its adequate level, almost 85 percent of the increment in yields may be used for fodder. Fodder resources will increase faster. Besides, what goes into the manger should be used more efficiently. Conditions for dynamic development in animal husbandry and production will be created. This should occur in the 1990s. It is projected that by 1990 the crop production of our agriculture will grow by about 22 percent, whereas animal production by almost 30 percent.

[Question] Let us extend our forecast to the end of this century. What kind of year is 2000 going to be for our agriculture?

[Answer] We anticipate that farmers will harvest about 48 quintals of wheat per hectare, but yields of all grains will come up to only 40 quintals per hectare due to the high share of rye, which gives much lower yields, and especially so on poor soils, which account for more than 30 percent of the total in our country. The grain crop per capita will exceed 800 kilograms. Of course, this will allow a considerable increase in animal production. Per capita meat consumption will amount to about 80 kilograms, and exports--to 300,000 tons.

Favorable changes should occur in land tenure. The number of farms smaller than 10 hectares will drop. In the year 2000, farms larger than 10 hectares will account for 60 percent of agricultural land (at present, 44 percent). The average area of a farm will increase from 5.6 hectares at present to 7.1 hectares.

The expected changes will not occur automatically and will require a continuous effort in the reconstruction of rural areas, and primarily adequate deliveries of means of production for agriculture. It is necessary to expand the chemical industry, so as to bring nitrogenous fertilizer use to 110 kilograms per hectare (at present, about 70 kilograms) and to increase production of pesticides and insecticides at least 3 times. Also, specialized machinery will be needed, because 50 percent of the grains should be produced with the use of comprehensive technologies. The success of agriculture will hinge on the effort of the entire national economy, and industry must be prepared for this.

[Question] These are very optimistic projections. Is there indeed no danger of our agricultural production breaking down?

[Answer] There is no way to predict the weather, and it can cause lower yields, which would be a factor in animal production. Therefore, we should do everything to mitigate an eventual poor harvest. Mainly, we should continuously enhance high yield factors, such as fertilizers, insecticides and pesticides. If that happens, agriculture can handle climatic fluctuations. A persistent implementation of agricultural policy and ensuring profitability for farmers is the second equally important condition for further development of agricultural production. Food supplies on our tables in the year 2000 depend less on the work of farmers and more on providing optimal conditions for their production.

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KOZIOL SURVEYS AGRARIAN POLICIES, RESTRUCTURING PLANS

Warsaw DZIENNIK LUDOWY in Polish 27 Feb 87 p 3

[Interview with Deputy Chairman of the Chief Committee of the United Peasant Party, Deputy Prime Minister Dr Jozef Koziol, by Janusz Tarniewski and Roman Wysocki; date and place not given: "Lack of Economic Equilibrium Is the Greatest Danger"]

[Text] The first weeks of 1987 abounded in events concerning agriculture and the food economy. This is a consequence of the role which the food complex plays in our socio-economic life. It is also a result of preparations for the 10th ZSL [United Peasant Party] Congress initiated by the 13th Plenum of the NK [Chief Committee] ZSL. Proceedings of the plenum were preceded by a joint meeting of the NK ZSL Secretariat and Presidium of the Government on 5 January of this year, which reviewed the fulfillment of the government schedule for implementing the resolutions of the 9th ZSL Congress. We discussed the main issues considered at this meeting and the current status of implementing a joint agricultural policy in an interview with the Deputy Chairman of NK ZSL Deputy Prime Minister Dr Jozef Koziol.

[Question] For the first time in the history of the PRP, a joint meeting of the NK ZSL Secretariat and the Presidium of the Government was held. What circumstances led to this?

[Answer] It appears to me that three essential circumstances are noteworthy which justified this meeting, and, therefore, further enrichment of our socio-political life. First of all, it is yet another proof that the coalition system of government in our country works and is growing stronger. After the 9th ZSL Congress, the government adopted a schedule for implementing congress resolutions. Now, more than 2 years later, we are returning for a review of the adopted government resolutions. Second, the meeting emphasized the contribution by the ZSL to making joint agricultural policy and being partly responsible for its implementation. This was stressed in the opening statements by both Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner and [ZSL] Chairman Roman Malinowski.

The already established practice of systematic and periodic reviews of implementing the resolutions and programs involving the development of agriculture and the food economy was the third circumstance. Hence also the

topic of this meeting, in which enlarged parties participated on both sides. On this occasion, I would also like to note the similar nature of joint meetings of the PZPR CC Politburo and the NK ZSL Presidium, held annually since the 11th Plenum of PZPR CC Politburo and NK ZSL, as well as the proceedings of the Sejm of the PRP, to which "The Report on the Status of Agriculture and the Food Economy" is submitted.

[Question] What issues dominated in the discussion at the meeting and in the resolutions passed?

[Answer] Chairman of the NK ZSL, Marshal of the Sejm Roman Malinowski pointed out the achievements of the joint meeting in full in his report to the 13th Plenum of NK ZSL. I will address the three main groups of topics. Evaluating the success of the government plan to implement the resolutions of the 9th ZSL Congress was the first such group. The plan included 22 tasks, all of them very important for a successful implementation of the joint agricultural policy. Eleven tasks were considered completely fulfilled, including the introduction of a credit policy in agriculture which would provide the necessary financing for production, creation of favorable economic conditions for agriculture in mountainous areas, introduction of a linear agricultural tax promoting the intensification of agricultural production and improved land tenure. Review of a social security system for farmers and necessary corrections, modernization of training in agricultural colleges and vocational and basic agricultural schools in order to increase the practical knowledge of graduates, evaluation of the economic condition of rural areas and the necessary decisions for ensuring the profitability of farming and an even level of income--as is known, such reviews are done and decisions are made every year, and respective revisions of procurement prices are made effective 1 July. That will also occur this year.

The list of completed tasks is quite long. We may say that many issues of fundamental importance for the food economy have not only been positively resolved, but have become a permanent component of economic strategy and policy. Among them, for example, is a package of economic arrangements or, more precisely, income, price, credit, tax, and budget policy; we might also add to this insurance, both social security and agricultural. Partial programs for the most sensitive elements of the food economy, e.g. programs for the development of food processing, land reclamation or production of equipment for agriculture and food processing, are particularly significant from the standpoint not only of short-range decisions, but also of structuring the national socio-economic plan for the current 5-year period.

[Question] What tasks were considered not completed?

[Answer] As a matter of fact, there is not a single task the fulfillment of which has not begun. After all, some of the remaining 11 tasks are ongoing in nature, requiring permanent action and improvement, such as, for example, evaluation and implementation of the economic reform or the so-called pervious price system, which should be addressed again further in the interview. As is known, the process of economic reform is not a one-time measure, but rather a continuous modernization of arrangements in the sphere of managing socio-economic activities. It is continuous improvement of the economic mechanism,

but also other things, in keeping with the changing environment and goals of socio-economic development. Hence also the decision laid down in joint resolutions to analyze and evaluate the process of implementing the economic reform in the entire food economy complex yet again.

Having said that implementation of basically all tasks has been initiated, I do not intend to create an air of self-content or blissful satisfaction. On the contrary, if I were to look at the entirety of tasks resulting from the joint agricultural policy and, consequently, from the program of the 9th Congress, I think that we are still facing very many difficult problems. However, they are mostly found in the sphere of carrying out the adopted and already working programs. This is also expressed in decisions made at the joint meeting. They involve tasks the implementation of which requires no additional funds, as well as those calling for such outlays. Along with the already mentioned improvement in the arrangement of the economic reform, the first group includes analyzing the efficiency of capital investment in the food complex, considering a previous system of prices in the food economy, evaluating the supply in rural markets, preparing a comprehensive program of development of the educational system until the year 2000 and a concept of setting up the fund for the development of education, as well as evaluating the sectoral breakdown of distributing nutritive fodder from the state allotment.

I believe that the tasks entailing financing are more essential from the standpoint of influence on stepping up agricultural production and living conditions of the rural population. Among them are the following: ensuring complete commitment of investment funds to the food complex in line with the plan, improving water supply to agriculture and the rural areas, accelerating agricultural land reclamation, increasing production and deliveries of building materials, developing chemical production for agriculture, gas supply and telephone lines in rural areas, as well as implementing persistently the decisions of the Presidium of the Government made in March of last year on improving the conditions for animal husbandry and milk production.

[Question] Numerous resolutions involving agriculture and the food economy have been passed. Undoubtedly, their number expresses the scope of needs in the food economy. Securing continuous self-sufficiency in food hinges on meeting these needs. In your opinion, which issues are the most important in ensuring self-sufficiency?

[Answer] As a matter of fact, most conditions outlined in program documents still apply. I would say that some have been resolved once and for all, for example, an issue of paramount importance for farmers and agriculture such as the security of farming and permanent basic tenets of agricultural policy. Let me emphasize that political, legal and organizational conditions have been created which allow us to call security or insecurity of farming a problem of the past. At present, nobody feels threatened with a lack of prospects for farming due to political reasons. Family farms, i.e. the ones exposed to such a threat in the past, are recognized to be a permanent part of our system. In this instance, we adhere to the fundamental principle of agricultural policy, the unity of Polish agriculture, whereas the results achieved are the factor of differentiation among individual farms, regardless of ownership. The quest

for broadly defined technical progress (mechanization, agro- and zootechnology, as well as economics), as well as the conditions encouraging this quest, are a centerpiece of flexibility and efficiency and, therefore, a certain avenue of development for individual farms.

As far as the permanent agricultural policy is concerned, we can nor can there be a retreat from it, because its results prove that the policy has been correct. This was discussed at length by Chairman of the National Council Roman Malinowski in an interview to WIES WSPOLCZESNA. We find another confirmation of it in the statement made by Prime Minister Zbigniew Ziembinski at the last session of the Sejm. I also think that we can rightfully say that this policy is being persistently carried out. Among other things, we have a right to say so because even when we fail to implement certain announced changes, we say so openly and indicate the prospects and ways for their implementation. In the past, beautiful programs were developed, but their implementation was not evaluated or they were quietly abandoned.

We included the issues central to securing stable self-sufficiency in food, i.e. food security, in the national socio-economic plan for the current 5-year period, which takes into account the program of development of agriculture and the food economy. Let me point out several such issues. The foremost of them is the necessity to ensure complete and efficient utilization of investment funds committed to the food economy in keeping with the principle set forth in the resolution of the 10th PZPR Congress, of which we were co-authors. This principle states that investment in food production should grow, at the very least, at a rate commensurate with that of the whole national economy, whereas investment in food processing and industries servicing agriculture should grow, at the very least, at a rate similar to that in the sphere of material production. It is due to this principle that the national socio-economic plan provides for a more than 70 percent increase in outlays for the currently most sensitive element of the food complex, the food processing industry. Certainly, there is a certain order of priorities within the limits of total investment. In agriculture, it is land reclamation, water supply, lime fertilizer; in agricultural chemistry--insecticides, pesticides etc. and mineral fertilizer, especially nitrogenous; in the food industry--the branches experiencing the greatest shortage of processing capacity compared to the raw material supply.

At present, ensuring maximum discipline in fulfilling the investment plan in the food economy is the most important issue. After all, meeting the provisions of the plan depends on it, as does an improved supply of fixed assets to the food economy. I would like to stress that, in this instance, I am referring to investment in production. Meanwhile, apart from this and apart from the supply of machinery, implements and agricultural services, the issue of efficient social infrastructure is very important for a great number of villages. Such an infrastructure, especially educational, health care, cultural, retail and service facilities, as well as telephone, increasingly often influences the continuous desire of young people to work and live on the farm, in a rural areas. Tremendous progress in this sphere in rural areas over 40 years of People's Poland is not a strong enough argument for the young and educated generation of Poles in view of the existing differences in infrastructure between urban and rural areas, but also in view of difficult

work in agriculture. I believe we do not always manage to point out the advantages of such work, which do, after all, exist along with its rigors. Is it not symptomatic that most often it is the young people being first-generation farmers who state that the opportunity for self-expression is greater in agricultural work? To be sure, this is a separate topic, which calls for sociological studies, but it should be mentioned.

Of no less importance are greater flexibility and demonopolization in the agricultural and food market, shortening and facilitating the movement of a product from the field and to the consumer.

The issue of continuous and balanced deliveries of industrial means of production to agriculture in keeping with the levels set in programs is yet another problem.

[Question] Exactly. Some of our readers say that they see no progress in the matter and even note retrogression. Recently, they have been pointing most often to coal supply.

[Answer] This was the second group of topics at the joint meeting of the NK Secretariat and the Presidium of the Government. The situation in this matter is mixed compared to both the program and the plan. We should note that in all cases deliveries of industrial means of production to agriculture are greater than in 1982, i.e. in the year preceding the resolutions of the joint 11th Plenum and the Sejm, a year when these deliveries were drastically smaller than in the late 1970s. I will not quote statistics, because the great many farmers whose needs exceed the opportunity to purchase these means do not find them convincing. Progress has been the greatest and most tangible in the supply of agricultural machinery. For example, every year agriculture receives about 60,000 tractors, about 5,000 grain combine harvesters and thousands of other machines. These deliveries not only make the farmer's work easier, but also ensure more efficient and, from the agrotechnical standpoint, more timely operations in agriculture, and, therefore, improved results. This was apparent during last year's record-high harvesting of grains. We may say that the main problem to be solved with farm machinery is the quality of equipment and implements, a full complement of spare parts and the development of production of new, more efficient and frequently still not manufactured machinery. After all, there still are machines, e.g. for land reclamation, the shortage of which is particularly pronounced.

Let us address the deliveries of other means of production in 1986 compared to the plan. Deliveries of mineral fertilizer were 97 percent fulfilled; the underfulfillment was due to nitrogenous fertilizer output falling short of the mark by about 100,000 tons. The increment in fertilizer deliveries calculated in pure component came up to 8 kilograms per hectare of agricultural land. The planned delivery of lime fertilizer was exceeded; about 12 percent more of it was delivered than in 1985. The same applies to plant protection agents, of which about 10 percent more were delivered. However, it should be noted that their delivery was delayed, which undoubtedly dampened the impact on production. A relatively small (about 2 percent) deviation from the plan occurred in deliveries of concentrated fodder from the state stock. However, insufficient growth of nutritive and high-protein

fodder deliveries was a negative factor. To be sure, planned levels are one of the reference points. We may even say that the discipline of plan fulfillment was relatively higher than in the previous years, though incomplete. Certainly, for individual farms the reference point is the opportunity to purchase means of production in quantities called for by their needs, when they need them and without wasting time. It is and it will be our goal to create such a market for the means of production. After all, this is where the greatest opportunity for growth of agricultural production and of income for farmers is found at present.

As far as the supply of coal to the populace is concerned, this is the most sensitive current issue. It attracted a lot of attention during the discussion at the joint meeting. The final decision in the matter has been to increase deliveries in the 1st quarter of this year by 750,000 tons and, including a subsequent resolution, by 950,000 tons compared to the deliveries in the 1st quarter of 1986. At issue are deliveries of lump coal in quantities commensurate with the demand resulting from the entitlements of farmers. Despite increased deliveries and numerous measures taken by the government, currently we are not in a position to meet the above two requirements because of the amount of lump coal produced. Hence the currently implemented resolutions on the delivery of other energy forms, such as brown coal, briquettes, fuelwood, as well as on paying cash equivalents, on developing the production of coal dust ovens and other measures, which, unfortunately, may take as many as 2 to 3 years, including 1986, to completely solve the problem. At present, work is underway in cooperation with the KZR [National Union of Farmers] and the OPZZ [National Trade Union Association] on solutions which should result in opportunities for deliveries meeting the needs, and in complete supply of solid fuels to the populace, if we take into account the implementation of the program of other measures adopted in late 1985--early 1986. I am fully aware that this problem needs to be solved as soon as possible, even more so because we no longer are a country where energy abounds. The growth of hard coal output in the next 3 years is going to be minimal, and of lump coal none, while the needs of the economy are growing substantially. So far, we have reduced coal exports.

This issue undoubtedly merits a broader separate discussion, as well as current information on measures to reduce energy-intensiveness of our economy, and especially of industry and the communal sector, which are the largest energy consumers. At the same time, for as long as we have coal rationing rather than an actual market, it is necessary to ensure that it reaches those who need the coal most. Certain favorable changes, though not fully satisfactory, occurred last year. This is confirmed by sales against slaughter cattle deliveries growing by about 40 percent and against milk deliveries by about 30 percent, while overall coal deliveries increased by several percentage points. Coal allotments against contracts for meat deliveries must be supplied in full, because this is a prerequisite for food production.

[Question] Since you mentioned three groups of topics, would you please describe the third one.

[Answer] It concerned the evaluation of results of agriculture and the food economy in 1986.

[Question] Would you kindly describe them. After all, detailed data were published in the GUS [Main Statistical Administration] report. What kind of a year was it for farmers, for agriculture, for the food market?

[Answer] It is too early to answer this question in full. This will be done in a government report on the status of agriculture and the food economy, as well as a social report prepared by the Council on the Food Economy. However, we may say that this was a good year. For the first time in years, Poland became a net exporter of foodstuffs, at the same time further improving the situation in the national food market as expressed by per capita consumption. Incidentally, in 1986 we exceeded by several kilograms the level of meat consumption envisaged by the program for 1990. Last year, the planned value of agricultural production was exceeded, while its efficiency increased further. This became possible due to record-breaking harvests and yields of grains (30.4 quintals per hectare) and rape, but also due to good harvests of potatoes, fruit and vegetables and fodder crops. The crop of sugar beets was smaller, despite the yields also being good. However, a higher sugar content and an efficient sugar campaign made it possible to produce 1,741,000 tons of sugar (4.5 percent more than in 1985). Output of animal husbandry grew by about 3 percent. Procurement of agricultural products increased by about 6 percent. We may, indeed we should, stress that for yet another year agriculture made a solid contribution to stabilizing our difficult economic situation. This made possible not only the achievements which I mentioned above, but also a relative decrease in food prices.

[Question] Is this a continuous process?

[Answer] I know that is what consumers of food expect. That is natural, and we should like to see a continuation of it in the future. However, at present, and I mean this year, my confirmation of the continuity of a relative decrease in food prices would be not only premature, but also irresponsible. After all, it is difficult to foresee the continuation of a rate of growth of agricultural production as high as in recent years, given the failure to supply industrial means of production to farmers in order to meet national needs. Let us note that last year the increment of gross agricultural product came up to about 5 percent, whereas an average annual increment of 2 to 3 percent is considered favorable. Therefore, I am bringing up the old hat--costs of food production at present are largely derived from costs outside agriculture. We should be aware that agriculture and the food economy are not one of the complexes of the national economy. They are affected by the same factors as other economic sectors: economic equilibrium, including access to raw and other materials and new technology, trends in cost structure, including inflationary processes, the situation in foreign trade, energy supply etc. Certainly, the influence of these factors differs. Nonetheless, the absence of economic equilibrium appears to retard pro-efficiency processes the most. Development of the food economy is an essential factor in ensuring equilibrium; at the same time, the latter is necessary for its development.

[Question] There also were unfavorable developments in agricultural production in 1986...

[Answer] Yes, especially in cattle breeding and milk production. This was yet another year when cattle herds decreased. We know what the reasons are. We adopted remedial measures at the meeting of the Presidium of the Government on 6 March 1986 with representatives of socio-professional organizations of farmers participating. This is a set of measures, primarily in the sphere of mechanizing cattle care and milk production, subsidizing zootechnical progress and ensuring profitability. Implementation of these measures must be accompanied by efficient work in agricultural administration, dairy cooperatives and specialized services. Within the framework of these resolutions, last year we improved the absolute and relative profitability of milk production. Simply put, procurement prices for milk grew faster than those of other basic products of agriculture. This will go on, and will also be a part of this year's revision of procurement prices, just as in the case of sugar beets. After all, these two branches of agricultural production are closely related. Also, they have one common feature, namely, high labor-intensiveness.

[Question] We share your view of the favorable results of agriculture. Can we determine unambiguously what the main reason was?

[Answer] If I were to say "the weather alone," I believe I would not be giving due credit to the farmers themselves, as well as to those whose efforts contribute to the results of the food economy. To be sure, the weather in 1986 was very favorable; it is always very important for agriculture. I believe that the main factor at work was exactly the stability of principles of the current agricultural policy. In this instance, I am not referring to the psychological impact, which wears off over time, but to a set of conditions which makes agriculture one of the focal points for socio-economic policy, for all of us. Due to this, we consider systematic evaluation of economic conditions and revision of agricultural procurement prices to be a matter of course, and we are correct in that.

[Question] Prices of the means of production for agriculture are also growing. Recently, prices of agricultural machinery increased. Hence the rightful calls from farmers for a complete introduction of a pervious price system.

[Answer] This is true. We considered this issue carefully even before the new prices for machinery were introduced. We consulted in the matter with the KZR, the Central Union of Agricultural Producer Cooperatives and the newly formed Union of State Farms. As is known, we blocked these price increases in the first half of each year for 2 years in a row. The revision was delayed until 1 July. This is both good and bad. This time, we refrained from such a decision, and not only because it runs somewhat counter to the economic reform. The reason primarily was that agricultural machinery plants were in a difficult economic situation due to increasing costs of raw and other materials and energy. Restricting their output became a real danger, and that would certainly impair agriculture. Subsidizing such production is not an alternative, as it is fraught with the same danger, though somewhat later. I

would like to stress on this occasion that, while revising prices for these means of production, we did not pass on in prices the entire growth of costs at the plants, planning to offset it in part by improved efficiency (producers of agricultural machinery pay no turnover tax at all). Introducing these prices sooner allowed for their more moderate growth. The costs to agriculture resulting from this will be compensated during the next revisions in procurement prices. That was our motivation. We should note on this occasion that it was decided to postpone the third stage of the reform of agricultural tax, basically announced for 1987, due to considerations of profitability. Therefore, I would say we are proceeding with due deliberation, taking into account all circumstances.

As far as the previous price system is concerned--and personally I am an ardent supporter of it--I would like to recall its basic premises:

- 1) immediate linkage among the prices of the means of production for agriculture, procurement prices and retail prices of food,
- 2) their simultaneous and, first of all, immediate adjustment within the framework of this triad;
- 3) joint consultation or negotiation of these prices by representatives of producers of the means of production, farmers and consumers.

Under this system, the state plays the role of an arbiter and spokesman for the social interests, especially under the conditions of somewhat contradictory interests, short as such a period may be. We are implementing elements of such a system; the Presidium of the Government will consider its details soon. However, a complete implementation of this system is only possible in an environment of slow price growth, on the order of several percentage points. Now, at the current rate of inflation, this would turn against the food market; it would be disrupted, because it is difficult to conduct such negotiations in confidence. The end and the means are correct. Reducing the rate of inflation translates this into practice in every detail and in its classical form. I am also thinking about tying complete introduction of this system to the second stage of economic reform. A clear-cut and markedly efficiency-oriented system of prices is an eminent feature of this state. This will be accompanied by reducing the use of official and regulated prices. This is one of the requirements of economic common sense, which is at the root of the economic reform. In many cases, the rules of price setting in the fruit and vegetable market may be a certain positive point of departure. However, this is not so in all cases, due to the interests of both the farmers and the food consumers. For example, fruit is not the same as bread.

[Question] Since we are on the topic of efficiency-oriented arrangements, we think this is a good time to ask for your stand on the issue of changes in land tenure of our agriculture. Some believe that more rapid changes of tenure are a panacea ensuring the efficiency of agriculture.

[Answer] For the first time since 1980, rapid trends have occurred in the improvement of land tenure. They should be reinforced by using the economic

rather than the administrative system. The opposite inclination does surface from time to time. The authors see in it a panaceum for all of our shortcomings. This is a narrow approach, and, as our experience has shown, an illusory one. Also, it endangers the production environment in rural areas. Changes in land tenure are not the end, but a means to the end, which is greater efficiency and better living conditions for farmers and their families on both family farms and those with other ownership. However, it would be a major blunder to exact changes in land tenure neglecting the conditions on which such changes hinge. We have outlined these conditions in our joint agricultural policy. Let us add that in this matter no administrative methods can be or are being considered, but rather economic conditions, especially the supply of the means of production, profitability and income parity, efficient production services to agriculture, an adequate tax, credit and insurance system and efficient organizational and legal arrangements for turnover in agricultural land. Shortly, the Council on the Food Economy will discuss conditions for changes in land tenure. For some time, work on this issue has been going on within the framework of this body. I would like to stress that, due to a gradual implementation of the above conditions, changes are occurring in land tenure of our agriculture which are not always reflected in the average farm size. It is noteworthy that in 1980 the group of farms under 2 hectares accounted for 6.5 percent of agricultural land, and farms larger than 10 hectares--40.1 percent of all agricultural land owned by family farms, whereas in 1984 the respective statistics were 6.1 percent for farms under 2 hectares and 44.1 percent for farms larger than 10 hectares. Therefore, these changes bring about polarization of farms.

We should reckon that, under the circumstances in our country, changes in land tenure will proceed in this fashion. This is also responsible for our positive attitude to part-time farms, which are concentrated in the south of the country. I would recall here the resolutions of the 9th NK ZSL Plenum, held after the 8th Congress, which pointed out the ways to use efficiently the potential of small farms, not for the sake of perpetuating the current land tenure, but in order to use the great existing opportunities of these farms. I am raising this issue deliberately, because if we look at, for example, the parity of income from agricultural production in 1985, more disparity occurred in this group of farms than in purely agricultural farms.

I would like to use this interview to touch on some schools of thinking on changes in land tenure. First, such changes cannot be regarded as a panaceum, as you put it in your question. This is one of the important factors ensuring efficiency, along with many others which are frequently not used enough under current tenure. Second, I do not hold extreme views on changes in land tenure. Among such approaches are, on the one hand, a view of such changes exclusively in terms of intersectoral [land] transfers, and, on the other hand, exclusively in terms of reducing the number of farms. In my opinion, these are erroneous approaches, though maybe isolated. Polarization, that is to say what actually happens, entails concentration of land by medium-size and large family farms, while the total number of farms decreases somewhat. Undoubtedly, there are additional factors in our country which justify this process, to mention just one, the housing situation. Here is one more remark.

Some believe that accelerated changes in land tenure will bring about a labor surplus in rural areas. This point of view is the result of a failure to consider two facts, mainly the need to develop production and general services in rural areas, as well as small-scale manufacturing etc., which calls for additional labor in such activities; the second fact is the age structure of farmers--in short, a large number of persons in old age.

Let me recall one more issue related to improvements in land tenure, namely, the amount of food production per hectare. Under the present conditions, that is to say given the current capitalization of labor in agriculture, an increase in the size of the farm does not always bring about increasing agricultural output per unit of area, though usually it does increase labor productivity. However, when increased output per hectare is the primary concern, we should be particularly careful in order to optimally combine the changes we are discussing with the growth of output. In its turn, this entails a combination of the changes with a systematic growth of capitalization of labor and land.

[Question] On our part, we would also like to draw your attention to another factor determining the pace of changes in land tenure, namely income parity.

[Answer] Let us make it "income parity under efficient production conditions." Indeed, this is one of the important matters which are responsible for the interest in increasing the farm and in working on the farm. At the same time, income parity is a right of farmers, of efficient ones, and an obligation for economic policy. Parity is a result of both economic decisions by the state and the use by farmers of all opportunities to efficiently take advantage of them. It is a result of an array of actions on increasing the productivity of agriculture, and, by virtue of this, corresponding creation of income (parity) for the agricultural population. Therefore, it is not true that income parity perpetuates the [current] land tenure, as some believe. Simplifying it somewhat, the requirement to abide by the parity principle is a positive influence on structural changes.

[Question] In your opinion, what is the greatest danger to agricultural output this year?

[Answer] Despite everything else, it is the weather. This is always an important factor. If I were to name a factor more or less under our control (i.e. that of all Poles), it would be economic equilibrium, or more precisely, possible lack of progress in ensuring equilibrium in the economy. This includes an array of very significant partial issues, e.g. the supply of manufactured means of production. Unfortunately, the beginning of this year was unfavorable for producing these means, especially mineral fertilizers. Introducing the second stage of the economic reform is associated with ensuring economic equilibrium, as was stated at the 13th NK ZSL Plenum.

[Question] One final question--to your mind, what in particular guarantees that the fundamental measures which we discussed will be carried out completely?

[Answer] The guarantee lies in the fact that we are already implementing them. However, I would like to recall yet another circumstance, which, unfortunately, will remind us for many years to come that there is no stopping half way through. It is the fact that in the 1970s we spent \$8.5 billion for grain imports alone due to mistakes we made, which boiled down to inconsistency. This also calls for staying in touch with the realities of life and work on the farm and conditions which prevail on our farms.

[Interviewers] Thank you for the interview.

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JZD AGROKOMBINAT SLUSOVICE SAID WORTHY OF EMULATION

Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 6 Apr 87 p 1

[Interview with Pavel Cmolik, chairman of the CPCZ All-Factory Committee of the Slusovice Agrokombinat United Agricultural Cooperative [JZD]]

[Text] The Slusovice Agrokombinat JZD employs 3,500 people on a full time basis, some 510 of whom are members and candidates of the Communist Party in 15 basic organizations. Their role within this cooperative continues to grow, for the simple reason that all important documents of the executive party offices have identified the accelerated practical application of the results of R&D programs as the revolutionary task of the present time.

And it is precisely the ability to apply science and technology to everyday tasks that this cooperative and all its members have risen to a high level, certainly the highest in our republic, and probably on a par with the best in the world. This means that Slusovice communists must be at the forefront of future developments. This will not only be in the interest of the entire cooperative, but is also necessary to demonstrate the potential inherent in socialist agriculture generally.

This was the subject of a recent conversation between Jarsoslav Smid of ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY and Pavel Cmolik, chairman of the CPCZ All-Factory Committee of the Slusovice Agrokombinat JZD.

[Question] You must be aware of the fact that a large number of agricultural enterprises do not hold a very favorable opinion of your operation. What are you doing to change their minds, to make them take a more objective view of things?

[Answer] A little while ago you yourself wrote, in an interview with the director of Agricultural Supply, that our enterprise receives priority consideration from many potential business partners, let us say in contracting for exports to earn foreign currency, because we can offer them greater flexibility, reliability, and faster operations than other cooperatives. Bear in mind that we have had to build this reputation and must work to maintain it. We started with no special advantages. Now that we are establishing direct relationships with Ukrainian and Latvian farmers we are experiencing extraordinary complications with the arrangement of the proper permission forms and are spending a lot of time getting papers stamped. It is exhausting

and much too complicated. In the future it should be simpler, but the beginning is really very complicated. My hope is that the restructuring of the economic system will make things easier for those agricultural enterprises that will want to emulate what we have accomplished. My feeling is that every kraj should have at least two enterprises with our economic strength, which can be responsible for the dissemination of R&D progress among the less viable enterprises. Clearly we need to develop more rapidly. To the extent that a given enterprise can accomplish this without turning to the state the process is more efficient. This is the way we did it. But do not get the impression that we only went after the quick and sure profits. We are currently losing money on our biotechnology operations. We lost money for almost the first two years of our venture in microelectronics. We will have to recoup these losses in the future. While we are waiting for the payback we have to earn money on current investments in any and all socially acceptable ways. There is no better thing that I can do to improve our public relations than to demonstrate that other enterprises can also do what we have done here.

[Question] Does it appear to you that the current economic restructuring simply affirms your previous views and work techniques?

[Answer] It is not that simple. Even though we have already implemented some of the ideas contained in the restructuring the overall program contains some things that are new for us and which have special importance for us. We are already an agricultural kombinat, a category that this statute has just created. Beginning in the second half of this year we can be the first experimenting agricultural enterprise in the republic. Our entrepreneurial philosophy, however, showed us early on that it would not be enough just to be engaged in agricultural production. We concluded that we also had to get involved in services related to this main activity, and in the further processing of the raw output. We currently have seven development programs: corn cultivation, cattle breeding, machinery development and production, bio-technology, packaging, microelectronics, and the processing of agricultural products. The trick, however, is to integrate these programs into nationwide programs for R&D progress, as well as into CEMA programs for the year 2000. We are proceeding successfully on both fronts.

[Question] Everyone knows that communists should be at the forefront of efforts to develop our society and enterprises, that they should be motivating people to fulfill all of the most pressing tasks. If, however, the economic system functions well, and people have the idea that their work efforts are being directed effectively and that they are being compensated on the basis of merit, this motivational aspect of the work of party organizations can become less important. In this sense, aren't your party organizations affected by a certain passivity?

[Answer] Even we have underutilized capacity, even though our system functions fairly well on the whole. We need to develop our system constantly, and work on strengthening its weak points. We need to exercise the right of control and defend the public interest against the occasional excessively individualistic or group-centered idea or suggestion. At our enterprise the beginning of this motivation is an uncompromising and absolutely regular evaluation of the performance of all our managers. No one has either their position or their paycheck guaranteed for an unlimited time based on their past performance alone.

Let me be more specific. Last year there was a lot of turnover among our senior managers. Twelve of them could not handle their jobs, two disrupted morale, two retired, and another 12 were promoted. We have quarterly reviews that are conducted by the management technical committee. Senior managers are evaluated on the basis of: success in the practical application of R&D results; the effectiveness of their management and correctness of decision-making; how well they have executed long range development guidelines; their economic performance, and how well they have met the needs of their subordinates. Anyone who receives fewer than a specified number of points is demoted to a lower position and takes a pay cut.

[Question] What role do the party organizations play in this evaluation?

[Answer] They are certainly consulted, especially regarding concern for subordinates and attention to their suggestions and comments. It is also proper for party organizations to poll and evaluate the attitudes and opinions of people concerning the overall situation in the cooperative. Senior managers are called before party meetings and committee discussions to respond to these concerns based on their own areas of responsibility. Understandably, party organizations provide input regarding personnel policy and it sometimes happens that enterprise management rejects their recommendations. This means that for certain key positions the search must sometimes continue for another person.

[Question] I have had some random conversations with people who are considering leaving Slusovice. They tell me that for the intensity with which they have to work here as opposed to other enterprises, the pay differential is not that great...

[Answer] We receive applications every year from 7,000 people, and are able to accept only some 350 of these. There will always be some people who choose to leave, and some of them are very capable. I would say that many of those who choose to leave came here with the idea that they would get rich quick. Unfortunately, one does not get rich quick here. We are simply working our way upward using proven methods. I am convinced that there is a great deal of pride here in our collective, in the results we have achieved and that most people are comfortable with the fact that initiative, creativity and, I would say, an adventurous spirit, are the qualities that are most valued here. We can also offer people a wide range of social and cultural opportunities, as well as a lot of information concerning inexpensive trips abroad.

[Question] So what keeps people here and makes possible the high productivity of the entire enterprise is not only the prospect of just compensation, but also social possibilities, and above all happiness in their work.

[Answer] That's right. And I would add that there is also an entrepreneurial spirit within the enterprise that pushes people to utilize all our resources, and particularly to gather new information and incorporate it in their own daily work. We have, in short, a creative atmosphere that is open to any and all new ideas.

GROWING POPULARITY OF STUDENT-RUN COOPERATIVES REPORTED

Warsaw RAZEM in Polish No 4, 25 Jan 87 pp 3,6

[Article by Stanislaw Roszkowski: "Offer for the Impatient"]

[Text] It was a fellow student who persuaded Mark to clean up the stops. "It can't hurt," he said, "and they say you can earn a lot of dough."

They formed a 5-man group. Each of them is supposed to service his own area. That is in theory, because in practice, they sweep up. The MPO [Municipal Sanitation Enterprise], their employer, is not interested in who works and when. The firm provides the money and figures out the work. Things are supposed to be clean in the morning. What is taken into account is not the effort, but the results of the work.

"One hears a lot now about the brigade system," says Kazimierz Chojnowski of the Union of Student Labor Cooperatives [ZSSP]. "But we have been working under such a system for years."

It is in the interest of everyone cleaning up to get the work done as quickly as possible, with the least effort, and with the fewest number of people. It is simply that the fewer people working, the more money ends up in one's pocket. One does not need an economist. The system works by itself. A student knows that if he messes up the work, he will not earn anything, and his place will be taken by another "starving" 20-year-old.

"What about the 'black-market booklets?'"

"They exist; that phenomenon cannot be hidden. The mechanism by which they appear is simple. A certain rector, let us say, cannot believe that a young man measuring pressure near the Center Houses gets more an hour than he does. Then what does the frightened student do? In order to be left in peace he records the work as being done by three people, and on the surface everything is in order."

"Black-market booklets" are mainly a problem of a psychological nature. Everything indicates that--assuming that economic mechanisms really start to function in the economy--they will not be bothering the rectors for long,

since if the work of a student is worth 500 zlotys an hour to the director of some factory, then why couldn't he pay him that amount?

The Warsaw MPO is already employing a thousand students. People are literally streaming to work in masses. They are not bothered by their neighbors' "disdain" ("Such an intelligent person, and he's sweeping up cigarette butts"), uncertain weather, or getting up at night. According to data from the ZSSP, during the last two years there has been a considerable increase in interest in working. During last year alone, the ranks of student cooperative workers grew by about 20 percent. This sudden rush of young people to work is not an incident—it is already a phenomenon, which must be taken note of.

Some people have accepted it with surprise, since it contradicts the current simplified opinions in vogue here and there.

"The crisis was raging around us," my interlocutors said to me, "and thousands of people in Poland were finding that 'nothing was worth doing,' but whatever the reason, young people were inclined toward a consumer life, just to get something and give a little, and so future M.A.'s are shaking the sand from their sleeves and standing in lines for the service centers."

We talk about work more and more often: where one can earn good money, who pays what, how work should be properly organized. Work has become a commodity like any other, people strive to work, and the word work means something completely different than it did three years ago.

The student cooperative movement, the only real monopolist in the labor market, has suddenly lost its primacy. Today literally every youth organization, or local club of the ZMW [Rural Youth Union] or ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] is establishing its own firms.

"In the Polish University Student Association [ZSP] I was responsible for economic activity," recalled Waldemar Radomski, the general director of Student-Service. "We had a major problem; there was a lack of personnel. We took a wise step; we put experienced accountants in with quite young directors."

They started with 5 million, which they received from the organization in the middle of 1984. It was enough to buy [maluch] and a telex. There were not enough funds left for transportation, materials, and office space.

The Academic Athletic Union is also engaged in economic activity. The clubs are engaged in trade, the organization of equipment exchanges, and the production of calendars. The respectable Democratic Party is also courting youth, and has founded "Karlik." There are over 80 different youth labor cooperatives operating outside student circles. As a rule these are small bodies, with several dozen people.

"It was easiest for firms based on services to enter the market," stated Stanislaw Gulek, the president of the ZSSP Administration and at the same time the deputy head of the CZSP [Central Union of Labor Cooperatives]. "They did not have to worry about materials, transportation, and offices."

Today, a wide variety of institutions are courting young people. Come to us, you will only earn a great deal here, we guarantee a 10 percent lower commission than our neighbor. We have a better selection of offers, including ones for specialists.

The student cooperative movement is organizing work for over 60,000 students, and achieving a turnover of around 9 billion zlotys. The 2-year-old Student-Service already boasts 30,000 employees and 3 billion in production.

Close to 5 percent of all the apartments built in Poland are the work of small cooperatives, which are frequently youth cooperatives. Their number is sure to increase.

"Twelve billion," Director Radomski quickly calculated, "is a fourth of what we could all earn together. The market for orders is virtually inexhaustible. There is no reason to fight over it."

At first, the heads of the student cooperatives nervously wrung their hands and worried that they would become "less important." But they got over it when it turned out that their own turnover was not decreasing at all, and that it was mainly the biggest gangsters, counting on quick and easy earnings, who ran to the new firms.

This vigorous development of different youth institutions, which set themselves the goal of organizing work, has meant that a great deal of gritty sand has been found in the gears. So far Student-Service has been accused of employing anyone at all, not necessarily students, as long as its turnover grows. The tremendous earnings of the presidents are irritating. The low quality of the services rendered is upsetting. On the other hand, however, if one looks at these negative phenomena not in terms of good and bad but from a sociological perspective, in their own way they have been a natural thing, since it is difficult to master the elements. As history, including our own, teaches us, everything new attracts not only enthusiasts who were not able to find a place for themselves in the previously functioning institutions, but also a group of cunning people taking advantage of the situation.

At present, however, there seem to be fewer of those negative phenomena. The youth bodies are growing stronger and improving their internal supervision systems, and outside inspectors simply know how to handle such a cooperative or enterprise, even if it has a fancy name--limited liability company--reminiscent of high society. The market has calmed down, and subsequent "pistoleros" are no longer appearing as frequently.

The ZSMP, for example, has recognized close to 50 firms. Two of them appeared in 1981. Then 12 appeared in 1982, and the same number in 1983 and 1984. But 1985 and the following year already yielded only a small increase--a total of 10 cooperatives.

Cooperatives and youth companies are already a fact on the country's economic map. In spite of the many buckets of cold water that have been poured on them, especially by representatives of the older generation, they are doing well. Three years ago, two journalists who wanted to describe one of the

newly formed youth cooperatives met in Silesia. It was accused of the most diverse things, and the prosecutor became interested in the matter. It was mainly the experienced reporter who recorded the "criminal items," while the young journalist, on the other hand, sought out the facts indicating unconventional methods of action, the courage of the 20-year-olds, their aggressiveness, and their departure from routine working methods.

The abrupt development of the youth bodies did not take place in a vacuum. When I asked Krzysztof Malatynski, the head of the MFB limited liability company, what he thought of the new phenomenon, he began to talk about it as something evident, known from one's own experience.

"Why do young people have such an urge to establish cooperatives? That is simple! The organizations they were in before really prevented them from showing what they were capable of."

We know how a young man or girl is received in a typical industrial plant. He is lucky if he is not sent out to get beer for Mr. Kaz from the first shift.

A young engineer hears, "Learn. Wait. You have to get experience." And he waits... until he is 30, or 40. He is still promising and still young, and someone is still setting him up and presenting him as a model of ambition.

But what are the self-government elections like, for instance? That promising young man is cut apart, not because his work is bad, but solely because of his age. He can wait for such a position. He is too young—what does he want? It is also enough to look through the advertisements in any newspaper. One can conclude a great deal from the ordinary dry wording. Competitions for director? Go right ahead, you have a chance, provided that you have been working in a management position for 15 years.

Who manages huge firms in the most developed countries? Young people! As we know, some incendiary will come and stir things up, but as he stirs things up, something may come out of that turmoil. The same is true of the older generation. The grandfathers skillfully encourage a young man, but put some experienced old hand behind his back, who will rein him in from time to time.

"Each of us has some ambitions and dreams," says Krzysztof Malatynski. "We are not deceiving ourselves. I am not managing this firm because the ZSMP Main Administration needs money and I am a patriot of the organization, but in order to prove myself."

In youth cooperatives, the young people themselves decide what they will do and for how much. They elect a president themselves from their own group, and absolutely no one has the right to interfere. They are aware that they are their own masters.

"In addition," Krzysztof adds, "no one tells them, 'You can't earn 50 thousand, because that guy over next to the lathe has been working here for 30 years already and he only earns 40 thousand.'"

But it is not only spirit that determines young people's rush to work. Material interests are being manifested.

"Such a firm is a business run by a specific group of people," says Janusz Dajnowicz, the president of the Katowice SSP Techno-Service. "Several dozen young people establish a cooperative in a factory. Why? Because they want to help the ZSMP Main Administration? No! They are thinking of themselves."

"Why do they come?"

"Hard times have come," Zygmunt Kielarski examines the next reason for the rush to work. "What one's mother provides is no longer enough. Students are becoming poorer, and there is not enough money for basic needs."

"Haven't students always been short of money?"

"Previously one happened across a lot of people who were not burning with a desire to work. There are also such people now, but they constitute a narrower margin."

Tastes and needs have changed. What did young people want to buy in the 1960's? A record player, records, and a tape recorder. They saved money for trips abroad. Now they have a desire for a computer, a video camera, or a video recorder, which are available, but at what price? On the order of several hundred thousand!

"Some people are worried about young people's desire to earn a lot of money," Krzysztof Malatynski admits. "But I think that it is a very positive thing. We did not invent the influence of daily life on consciousness, and neither did Marx."

If a young man does not have enough to last until the 10th, not to mention the 15th, then no discussions of policy will convince him. One can engage in consideration of work for an ideal when one already has a certain standard of living.

"Every normal person, not only in Poland, but throughout the world," concludes Krzysztof, "wants to ensure comfortable living conditions for himself and his family. These queues, anxieties, and the crowded buses are naturally stupefying, and take away one's desire for action."

Many new youth firms are not only the business of individual units. Waldemar Radomski remembers the beginning of the 1980's, difficult times for the student organization.

"Toward the end of the previous decade, the student cooperative movement still turned over 20 percent of its budget surplus for the needs of the SZSP [Socialist Union of Polish University Students]. Others also began to demand money. The ZSSP extricated itself from the problem in a Solomon-like way: it does not give money automatically to anyone, which does not mean that it does not give anything at all."

Today no one is throwing money to the youth unions, and that is that. The increasingly tougher rules for economic activity are causing the previously generous sponsors to look at every zloty before they put it into circulation. One must deserve assistance, and if someone spends a few thousand it is because he has a definite interest in this.

The organizations have begun to look around on a wide scale for funds that would assist their statutory activity. For example, the ZSMP Main Administration owns 84 percent of the capital in the MFB limited liability company. The same is true of Student-Service.

Furthermore, just after martial law the unions wanted to give something tangible to youth, and that, among other things, is why they gave and are giving such strong support to the development of new firms.

"Without prejudice!" I heard at the ZSSP. "That is fitting the theory to the facts. That ideology is also absent in direct discussions. Only one thing is talked about--money, for the organization and for one's private pocket. We are aware that this is hard to swallow and declare aloud."

Everything indicates that the new youth firms really are attracting the best and most ambitious young people, who later on, after moving on to "adult" work, will no longer be capable of bungling their work. Sound economic principles, which have always prevailed, for example, in the cooperative movement, have become so deeply ingrained in them that many negative circumstances are required to eradicate them.

In this regard, it would be worthwhile to dispose of the myths circulating on the subject of working while studying. A considerable portion of society has a simplified image of the future holder of a master's degree. Some people want to see him as a boy rushing around with a bucket and a dustcloth. Others have heard something there about black-market booklets, "blacks," and students on leave who deliberately prolong their studies in order to earn money for a Fiat.

The cooperative movement has observed such opinions for years. At many conferences the educational role of work is mentioned, and then some dignitary jumps up out of the blue with an intelligent observation like "They beat blacks at your place"--it is necessary to clean up these black-market booklets.

Consequently, the ZSSP conducted sociological studies in most areas recording the performance in school of students employed in cooperatives.

"Work (...) does not have a negative effect upon the results of students' studies, and in many cases the grades (...) are higher than the average grades obtained by all the students in the school," we read in the study. For example, the average grade of the students at the WSP in Zielona Gora was only 3.53, while the average grade of those working in a cooperative was 3.81.

The structure of the earnings of the students employed in the "Uniwersitas" SSP [Student Labor Cooperative] was as follows: at the University of Warsaw

the average earnings were 49,420 zlotys annually; at SGPIs [Main School for Planning and Statistics], 54,340 zlotys; at SGGW-AR [Central School of Farming-Agricultural Academy], 54,200 zlotys; and at PW [Warsaw Polytechnical School], 74,430 zlotys. In the entire cooperative, 314 individuals achieved earnings of over 250,000 zlotys per year (i.e., about 3 percent of the population of working students). Their average grade of 3.66 differs slightly from the averages of the other groups.

In the "Grono" SSP the students who achieved the highest earnings have an average grade of 3.69 (higher than average), and this is the most numerous group. In the "Malgosia" SSP the students who achieve the highest earnings have the highest average grades, i.e., they are in the groups earning 60-80 thousand zlotys and 90-120 thousand zlotys.

Consequently, it is not true that entire hordes of students are thinking about nothing except how to postpone their studies and engage in work. Only a small number of students on leave work at all. Here are a few figures.

"In the 'Grono' SSP, of the entire group of students on leave or repeating a year, 34.14 percent of the students at WSI [Higher School of Engineering] and only 5.3 percent of the students at WSP are working in a cooperative. The average earnings are 110,072 and 92,036 zlotys, respectively. In the Bydgoszcz area, 6.5 percent of the students on leave or repeating a year from ART [Agricultural Technical Academy] and 35.4 percent of those from WSP are working in the "Inwentus" SSP. Their average earnings are 163,412 and 285,186 zlotys, respectively. At the Gdansk Polytechnical School, 37 percent of the students on leave go to work."

Many years of observations of ZSSP presidents indicate that the biggest bosses have time for everything: work, study, and recreation. It is difficult to say why, but the people who earn the most are vilified; they are suspected, and their hands are examined. Perhaps a mistaken concept of egalitarianism can be observed here.

"What is currently happening in youth circles, if it has to do with a general urge to work, obviously inspires optimism," says Krzysztof Malatynski.

"Young people want to decide for themselves. They are not waiting for yet another resolution or law that would grant them some kind of privileges or preferences, make promises, and trick them."

One thing is certain: no one is fooling 20-year-olds any more.

"All of these new cooperatives, companies, enterprises, or whatever they are called, are a substitute for what adult society would like to do," adds Kazimierz Chojnowski.

For the time being, the young people have won the argument.

9909

CSO: 2600/400

TORUN AREA 'POLONIA' FIRM ACTIVITY VIEWED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Feb 87 p 3

[Article by Cezary Rudzinski: "The Wheat and the Chaff"]

[Text] We talk about Polonian and foreign enterprises in different ways. The managers of state and cooperative plants complain about their bribing people away, the excessive--as some of them claim--freedom of action of the nonsocialized competition, and high prices. On the other hand, many of our fellow citizens sigh with envy: they earn it!

How do these enterprises look when viewed in terms of treasury inspection and journalistic investigation? The area under observation is the Torun voivodship, where there are actually few of those enterprises, but where the Treasury Chamber is quite familiar with their worth.

The Torun Example

During the years 1981-1986 12 foreign small-scale manufacturing enterprises appeared and operated in the voivodship; 6 of these are left. The governor rescinded the permits of three of them, and the other three were liquidated by their owners.

"Different types of people," I was told at the Treasury Chamber, "participated in the Polonian economic movement. There were also some who should not have been there. This particularly applies to some representatives. They are recruited mainly from the nonsocialized economy. We are conducting criminal tax investigations of some of them at the request of the prosecuting authorities."

Every other foreign enterprise in the Torun voivodship has violated the basic principles for the conduct of enterprises in Poland. For example, in 1982 "Daned" in Wielka Nieszawca underpaid its turnover tax alone by over a million zlotys, and in 1984 by over half a million. "Dradex" in Torun (already liquidated) underpaid in 1983 and 1984 by close to half a million, "Markius" in Kowalewa Pomorska (also no longer in existence) underpaid the turnover tax for 1984 by over half a million, etc.

I noted further accusations: the use of domestic raw materials for production even though in accordance with their establishment they were supposed to

import raw materials. There are also numerous examples of overpaying workers--rates many times higher than those used in Poland. A side note on the wages: the wages that were strikingly higher than in the socialized economy apply only to white-collar workers.

Let us return to the reservations. They have to do with the reluctance of the enterprises to invest more substantial foreign exchange funds, since for the most part the owners do not have the corresponding capital; the tendency to export goods that are very superficially processed or are derived from coating work. The expectations of importing new equipment and technologies have not been fulfilled. The only firm filling government orders successfully is "Markit"; it is also the only one exporting its products.

What Is "Markit"?

The foreign enterprise "Markit" in Torun is portrayed as operating very well and fulfilling the expectations associated with this type of activity. Consequently, I went to a small frame building located several hundred meters from the giant "Elana," visited that little factory, and spoke with the director--with representative Stanislaw Rakowicz and director Wojciech Witczak.

The production areas are small but well used: a cutting room for gloves and a department for sewing men's shirts. People will not be working very long in the larger shop. In the cutting room for blouses, there is an enormous range of assortments, since only small lots are sewn there.

In the sewing room, which is reminiscent of a small factory, two teams work in a synchronized-flow system, which constitutes a combination of a cluster and an assembly line. At every step things are modern: the electronic irons with automated moistening and removal of the steam, the specialized machines in the finishing room, and modest warehouses.

"Here in Torun," I was told, "we employ 200 people in the plant and 200 cottage workers. A branch clothing plant is in the process of being organized in Rypin, which will employ 200; 30 are currently working there. Also, since the beginning of the year we have had a separate plant in Jablonowa Pomorska, where 70 people sew protective gloves for a government order. We also ship men's shirts to the market, on a government order: 70,000 in 1986, and it is supposed to be 200,000 in 1987. We sew only with allocated off-grade cloth which the large state industry does not want to take.

"'Markit' sews women's blouses, 10-11 thousand per month, for the well-known firm 'Triumpf' in West Berlin and for 'Siedenstucker' in Bielefeld in West Germany. Everything, from cloth to thread and packing, is supplied from abroad."

The total value of sales was 484 million zlotys in 1986, which is 13 percent less than during the previous year. Exports were close to 600,000 DM, a growth of 383 percent. Of "Markit's" 400 employees, there are only 15 white-collar workers and 21 auxiliary workers--a total of barely 9 percent.

Secret of High Earnings

The jobs involve multiple functions. For example, the office manager, who had previous experience in foreign trade, at the same time acts as the secretary, services the telex, handles the typing and correspondence in German and English, brings and takes away the mail, and takes care of all of the administrative and clerical paperwork for foreign trade; she also provides coffee and tea. The head of the commercial service is also the supply officer, the man from the market, and at the same time a driver and guard. He has one professional driver to help him, who is also the representative of the director for transportation, which consists of 10 cars.

There are two people to take care of 200 cottage workers. They bring them patterns, thread, spare parts, and raw materials, take away the finished products, keep all of the records of production and wages, and pay the salaries. They are themselves the drivers and guards, and prepare everything for the cottage workers, along with the machines. The bookkeeping department has three people, who constitute the entire service, including the economic and labor service, of the enterprise.

Each one is bound by a clear incentive system of wages. In production, everyone works by piece-work. The white-collar workers receive basic wages, functional supplements, and monthly bonuses based on the extent to which they have completed specific designated tasks. There are also special bonuses for additional tasks, ideas, and suggestions for improvements in efficiency. There are also biannual bonuses, before vacation and before Christmas Eve, which are based on the individual's contribution to the enterprise's level of profitability.

What does the economy get from you?

"Money and foreign exchange, gloves on government order, men's shirts for the market, and the vocational activation of women in Rypin, where we took over a plant that had been closed down."

There is no reason not to believe the treasury officials, who are cautious by nature, or what I saw and heard for myself—that "Markit" is precisely the kind of foreign enterprise that the economy needs. This does not mean that there are no reservations about it, since deviations occur that require operational intervention, but these are relatively rare.

The government's position on the issue of the so-called Polonian firms was confirmed during a conference devoted to an assessment of the "Sektor" operation. It can be summed up in the following statement: A green light for the honest people, and a clear "Stop!" for the manipulators and swindlers. A close look at the activity of the foreign enterprises in one voivodship confirmed the importance of realizing this principle in practice.

9909

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TRADE WITH WEST BERLIN DESCRIBED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 6 Feb 87 p 5

[Article by correspondent Eugeniusz Waszczuk: "West Berlin—Trading Partner"]

[Text] West Berlin constitutes an atypical economic organism—without an agricultural and heavy industry base, but with a highly developed manufacturing industry and a population of almost 2 million. By the nature of things, it is fated to import many goods. For this city, the leading place in exports is held by both German states, but in addition to them, Poland is in fourth place among foreign suppliers, after Italy, France, and the Netherlands. The closeness of the West German market—100 kilometers from the Polish border—plays a direct role in this. Also important is the possibility of offering many products that are sought after there.

During the last two years, Poland's trade turnover with West Berlin has almost doubled. Recently, however, the situation has been somewhat more difficult. The reason is the limitation on shipments of our coal in view of the decrease in crude oil prices on the world market.

The list of our deliveries to West Berlin includes, in addition to the above-mentioned coal, industrial products, agricultural and food products, clothing, chemicals, and production materials. A particular role in the growth of the turnover has been played by the increase in deliveries of food products from Poland recently. These shipments, moreover, do not deprive the domestic food market, since they consist of products that are plentiful in Poland—for instance, fruits and vegetables, geese and ducks, and forest products like berries and mushrooms, including "kurki" [a type of edible fungus], which are extremely popular on the West Berlin market.

The sewing of clothing in Polish factories on orders from West Berlin firms providing the patterns and fabrics has also contributed to the growth of the turnover. Shipments of industrial products, mainly electrical machinery ones, have increased. A Polish firm is also participating in the construction of the Reuter-West thermal electric power plant. About 200 Polish workers are employed there, including a large group of welders, who are very highly rated.

Imports to Poland are lower than exports. They play a significant role, however, because in many cases, in view of the short distance, these are so-

called intervention imports. For example, we obtain spare parts for machinery and components for the chemical industry on the West Berlin market. Recently the influence of the economic reform in our country has also been apparent—there has been an increased need for raw and other materials for crafts: glues and various types of additives. This is important for production for the market and also for export.

Polish deliveries of "green goods" to the receptive West Berlin market can be increased further. Further steps must be taken, however, in expanding our export capacity—creating a network of warehouses and storage facilities in our western voivodships, and shifting several large farms to production for West Berlin.

There are also untapped possibilities in so-called enrichment manufacturing. Our factories cannot increase the size of the orders they receive now, but they are, however, capable of increasing their income by increasing the proportion of Polish cloth in products for West Berlin.

Polish handicrafts also have considerable possibilities for sales in the West Berlin market, since they offer small, sought-after articles for everyday use. Wooden products can also count on a great deal of interest: cottages for owners of small allotments, fancy goods, construction woodwork, etc. Leather goods are encountering similar interest in West Berlin.

New and unconventional solutions are being sought. For example, during a trip organized by Poland and West Berlin's Chamber of Industry and Commerce to Warsaw and Poznan, West Berlin buyers established many contacts in our capital, and while visiting the "Cooperation" international fairs, they became acquainted with what Wielkopolska has to offer. In general, cooperation with the Berlin Chamber has been arranged very well. Among others, the Poznan fairs were visited by the Chamber's president, Horst Kramp, and Elmar Pieroth, the West Berlin senator for economic matters. The Chamber is giving evidence that it is treating trade with Poland as a mutual interest.

An essential role in clearing the way for Polish products in the West Berlin market is played by the exhibits of foreign trade enterprises and other economic organizations. Because West Berlin is dominated by small and medium-sized enterprises that are looking for flexible coproduction suppliers, our exhibits of small-scale manufacturing and crafts are appropriate. The fairs organized by Ars-Polona are an example of the proper utilization of fair events in West Berlin.

There are considerably more such activities. On the whole, they yield measurable results, which are reflected in increased turnover. It is possible to achieve better results, however.

9909

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S&T COOPERATION PROJECTS WITH USSR REVIEWED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 11 Feb 87 p 3

[Article by Andrzej Litewski: "Programming Tomorrow"]

[Text] An electronic pilot and combustion boilers, modern technologies for a new generation of nuclear power plants, a color television next to a delivery truck with a diesel engine, cosmetics and synthetic diamonds, brakes for a KAMAZ, cranes, and...

One can add dozens of similar examples. These are the anticipated results of the joint activities of Polish and Soviet factories, scientific institutes, design bureaus, and research and development centers. We are not writing about anything completely unknown. More and more numerous reports and discussions in the press and on radio and television on the subject of new forms of cooperation with the Soviet Union are bringing before our readers the contents of important documents and decisions, and showing what kind of chance for the development of our economy lies in that cooperation.

In September 1983, when 50 pairs of Polish and Soviet enterprises were singled out to undertake direct cooperation, it was only established that this cooperation would be initiated on the basis of contracts or agreements concluded independently by the cooperating organizations. These contracts were supposed to regulate all the problems that could arise in the cooperation, and were also to constitute a basis for developing joint multiyear programs. Soon appropriate documents were issued in each country. Life proceeds rapidly, however, and documents cannot always foresee what will be important in several months or more.

At the end of 1984, the chairmen of the science and technology committees signed a long-term comprehensive program for scientific and technical progress. An agreement on the initiation of direct cooperation between Polish and Soviet scientific research units was thus created.

This agreement gave Polish science a unique opportunity for development. The restrictions of recent years that have worried scientists, the curtailment of international contacts, and various types of obstacles affecting opportunities to purchase scientific research equipment and even professional literature have mercilessly struck at Polish science. Access to Soviet scientific

laboratories and to the raw materials and reagents necessary for conducting research is solving many apparently unsolvable research problems.

One may thus count on completion of the research and development tasks planned to be carried out during the years 1986-1990. Soviet and Polish scientists and specialists plan to develop 110 new machines, instruments, and devices and about 80 ultramodern technological processes, and to create over 20 new materials, 15 automatic control systems, and computer technology centers. Could these goals be achieved acting alone?

From Project to Adoption

The above-mentioned program included 85 research problems. The problems considered to be particularly important included the application of electronics in the economy, the comprehensive automation of production processes, the development of nuclear energy and the fuel-energy complex, the production of new materials, and the development of biotechnology. In accomplishing these tasks, 93 Polish and 180 Soviet institutes and scientific research organizations established cooperation. The outline for this program calls for work to be carried out in individual fields from the phase of studies and projects, to its adoption in production, and then for specialization and coproduction. Such an approach will permit the proper concentration of research and production resources, and of the considerable funds required to carry out the entire undertaking.

It is in this comprehensive program that the work on the new color television is planned. In designing it, teams of researchers, builders, and designers are utilizing the latest achievements of electronics.

One should also include among the primary tasks the creation of a uniform system for optical means of transmitting information. Another example of cooperation could be the direct work undertaken between the Industrial Institute of Mechanization and NAMI in Moscow, which has resulted in the development of a design for a delivery truck weighing all of 3.5 tons with a diesel engine. In this regard, it should be pointed out that as early as the stage of drafting the design, the future producers participated in this work—FSC [Truck Factory] in Lublin, WSK [Transportation Equipment Plant] in Andrychow, and UAZ [Ulyanovsk Automotive Plant] in Ulyanovsk. It has been calculated that thanks to the jointly conducted work, the outlays allocated for starting production have been reduced by 30 percent.

Combined Efforts

The agreements and multiyear cooperation programs that have been signed, in most cases, contain specific undertakings aimed at improving manufacturing equipment and technologies, raising the quality of products, eliminating imports from the capitalist countries, and improving the economics and organization of enterprises. A mutual exchange of research results, studies, reports, and documentation is taking place. Joint work has been conducted by scientists and specialists.

As a result, this activity has yielded such concrete accomplishments as, for instance, the development by the Power Hydraulics Works in Lodz and the Kalinin Works in Moscow of a design for a modern type of hydrokinetic transmission for heavy construction and road machinery, or the performance by the Zabrze Coal Mining Company and the Prokopevskugol Production Association of work on the exploitation of steeply slanted coal deposits, which as a result will permit constructing a set of machines for work in difficult geological conditions.

Similarly, the ZAMET Mechanical Works, using documentation obtained in Kramatorsk from the Industrial Association for Precision Rolling Equipment, is beginning to produce self-propelled undercarriages for mining machinery. In return, ZAMET will make 300 of these devices for the USSR by 1990.

ORGANIKA-FOTON, thanks to its exchange of experience and technological developments in the area of flocculation with the TASMA Association, has already reduced production costs by over 30 million zlotys annually.

One model example of scientific-technical cooperation might be undertaking to develop a design for and to produce a new generation of self-propelled cranes with a lifting capacity of 25-250 tons (we have covered this in RZECZPOSPOLITA). In this case, direct cooperation provided the impetus for the collaboration of the Industrial Institute of Construction Machinery with Soviet scientific research centers.

Similarly, the cooperation between the Institute of Mathematical Machines and the Moscow Institute of Control Machines, which has existed for years, may be expanded, for instance, through the development and start-up of production of a graphics station based on a Soviet microcomputer and a Polish graphics monitor. This is a problem of enormous significance for the entire application of electronics in the economy. Scientists are of the opinion that the broad use of microprocessors and the automation of the equipment for technological processes will mean that even during the lives of the present generation, the number of microprocessors functioning on our planet will exceed the number of electron tubes, and will grow to 5-10 billion by the end of this century.

The combined efforts of the CEMA states in this field will be concentrated on building a supercomputer with a capacity of performing over 10 billion operations per second, with the use of artificial intelligence and improved human-machine interface methods. Poland will make a large contribution to the construction of such equipment.

Guarantees of Success

There are many such examples of direct ties between Polish and Soviet scientific institutions. There will certainly be more of them, not least because the National Socioeconomic Plan explicitly states that the directions of the development of science and technology will be subordinated primarily to solving the fundamental long-term and current socioeconomic problems, and especially to improving the efficiency of the utilization of material and fuel and energy resources, introducing new technologies and comprehensive

production methods more rapidly, increasing the economy's export capacity and making the structural changes associated with this, and improving the state of the environment.

The resolution on the National Socioeconomic Plan also emphasizes that the directions of scientific research will be closely correlated to the tasks arising from agreements on scientific-technical cooperation with the USSR and the other CEMA states, with a special role being played by joint undertakings carried out within the framework of the "Comprehensive Program for Scientific-Technical Progress of the Member Countries Until 2000" and the "Long-Term Polish-Soviet Comprehensive Program of Scientific-Technical Progress."

No country thinking about continued development can rely today on the fully autonomous development of research in all scientific fields. A guarantee of success and triumph can only be given by international specialization and genuine cooperation, since it opens up possibilities for the concentration of scientific effort on selected research topics and the shortening of innovation and research cycles through this type of activity. It guarantees success.

Our contacts with our partners to date give grounds for optimism—but success consists of many factors. More and more often, this truth is becoming apparent to us.

9909

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USE OF UNCONVENTIONAL ENERGY SOURCES IN AGRICULTURE URGED

Bucharest REVISTA ECONOMICA in Romanian No 2, 10 Jan 87 pp 9-10

[Article by University Assistant Costel Negrei: "Coordinates of the Utilization of Unconventional Energy Resources in Agriculture"]

[Text] Viewed retrospectively, human civilization has been marked in its evolution not only by the quantity but also by the type of energy utilized. However, it can be judged that a certain exaggeration of the active role of the quantity and type of energy in substantiating the production technologies appeared, going along the line of designing technologies that were big consumers of energy, cheap at the time, without also considering to a suitable degree the necessity of protecting the energy sources. A concerted action was thus necessary both in the field of developing the energy base and in the field of practicing less energy-intensive technologies.

The necessity of using technologies capable of also ensuring the conservation of energy sources also derives from the fact that, in reality, we are going through, not a period of "energy pessimism," but a period of "technological pessimism," the alarming thing being not the reserves of energy (energy being subject to the law of conservation) but the technological possibilities of applying it. In this context, the "green revolution" in agriculture, on which some countries have pinned their hopes of covering at a higher level the domestic consumption of agricultural products and creating bigger reserves for exportation, finds itself "abandoned"--at least for a period of energy transition--by the contribution of a decisive factor like energy.

However, the problem has been complicated not only due to the inclination to consume more energy to obtain agricultural products but also due to the characteristics of the present energy base of agriculture (like, moreover, that of the whole economy): It is based on very concentrated and exhaustible deposits to too great a degree; it is based on technologies with a high degree of centralization; it has a "dangerously" simplified structure; and the energy sources are not regenerated.

Even under the conditions of rationalized consumption, the accentuation of the intensive character of agriculture undoubtedly presupposes a corresponding increase in the energy inputs. Consequently, the viability of the system--that is, the meeting of the social and economic requirements--will depend to a

great extent not only on the manner of utilization but also on the quantity, quality, and structure of these inputs. With such an evolution being foreseen, we feel that the accentuation of the endogenous and regenerable character of the energy base of agriculture will have an important role in providing stability to the system of agricultural production.

In our opinion, this must be done with the following being taken into account:

1. The providing of greater compatibility between the sources and forms of energy utilized and the characteristics of the production process in agriculture. Two aspects can be conclusive in this regard: The seasonal character of some branches of agricultural production causes a reduction in the level of utilization of the capacity of the energy installations, this affecting the efficiency of agricultural production; given the close dependency of agricultural production not only on the level of allocation of the production factors (from a quantitative and qualitative viewpoint) but also on the optimum time for allocating them, the risk of having big production losses rises under the conditions in which the energy-supply sources have a high degree of centralization (for example, the failure to provide water in the critical periods, as a result of deficiencies in supplying energy for the irrigation systems, causes unrecoverable losses, all the greater as the energy source supplies a wider area);
2. The utilization of the energy reserves of agriculture, equating to big savings of conventional fuel;
3. The consolidation of agriculture's function of protecting the environment, given agriculture's tendency to become a bigger and bigger source of pollution.

The concerns of "homo energeticus," especially after the petroleum crisis became chronic, led to the reevaluation of alternative energy sources, such as solar energy, biogas, wind energy, and so on. To what extent can these sources help to reduce agriculture's energy dependency, as a requirement for lessening the propagated effect of external deficiencies?

In this regard, the following fields in which the contribution of the above-mentioned alternative energy sources can rise substantially have been identified: the preparation of hot water, the heating of air, the preparation of animal feed, the providing of water for animals and water for irrigation, and the performance of transportation and agricultural work. At the present technological level of exploitation of solar energy, wind energy, and biogas, agriculture should represent the main user, for at least two reasons: The relatively small quantities of energy that are obtained can meet to a suitable extent the requirements of the production process in agriculture, especially if we bear in mind the new orientations connected with its dimensions; some sources, such as biogas, presuppose the utilization of significant regenerable resources on a local level.

The alternative energy sources not only will supplement the energy need in agriculture but also will help to extend the "life" of the conventional energy

sources for a longer time, this having on agricultural production positive effects that can easily be foreseen. Consequently, the manifestation of greater mobility in using the various energy sources is meant to ensure the avoidance of crisis situations in the case in which some resources become rare.

Despite the difficulties in exploiting solar energy, connected with providing land for placement of the collectors and with the variation in solar radiation with time, this form of energy can be of particular utility in agriculture, both through biological conversion (insofar as the burnable plants use land unfit for other crops) and especially through technological conversion. The utilization of solar energy in agriculture is facilitated by the fact that production processes that are big consumers of heat at low and medium temperatures (especially in zootechny) are characteristic of agriculture. Hot water at a temperature of 80-95° C and steam at a temperature of 110-120° C can be obtained by means of solar energy.

The experiments in our country (although few are being done in agriculture) have distinguished us in the field of solar energy, especially through the startup of a big solar-thermal power station in 1983, which prepares hot water (75 percent of the annual consumption) for 2,240 apartments (the Baneasa-Bucharest district). The fact that a gram calorie obtained by means of solar energy is competitive in terms of economic efficiency with one obtained on the basis of conventional fuel should be noted. In the context of utilizing solar energy, the possibility of converting solar energy into mechanical energy with an electric motor represents an important starting point in attaining "solar agricultural machines" (a solar tractor has already been achieved experimentally in the USSR).

Along with solar energy, biogas is gaining more and more adherents as an energy source. The reasons, of course, are not lacking. Biogas can be obtained through anaerobic fermentation of vegetable scraps, animal excrement, and sludge obtained from residual-water purification stations. Their energy potential is quite high: 1 kg of wheat chaff equals 0.9 cubic meters of biogas; 2,000 kg of straw equal 1,800 cubic meters of biogas; the excrement coming from one hog in 1 year equals 75-80 cubic meters of biogas. The energy equivalent allows us a better approximation of this energy potential: 1 cubic meter of biogas equals 5,500 kilocalories or 0.8 liters of diesel oil.

The above data indicate the possibilities that agriculture has of covering much of its energy need from its own production. From an economic viewpoint, the utilization of biogas is very cheap: The cost of a cubic meter of biogas comes to 0.50-0.80 lei, with it to reach 0.30-0.50 lei on the basis of improvements in the technology for obtaining it.

In establishing the efficiency of utilizing biogas, we must also bear in mind the fact that an agricultural fertilizer rich in humus and other fertilizing substances results from anaerobic fermentation, and the recycling of vegetable resources, animal excrement, and sludge from purification stations helps to combat environmental pollution. As part of the Program for Research, Production, and Utilization of Biogas in the Economy, drawn up by the CNST [National Council for Science and Technology], big steps to utilize biogas have been

taken in agriculture. A big biogas installation is operating at the Tomesti Hog-Breeding Complex (Iasi County). Other installations have been put into operation at Palas-Constanta, the "30 Decembrie" Enterprise (Ilfov Agricultural Sector), the Zimnicea IAS [State Agricultural Enterprise] (Teleorman County), and the Varias CAP [Agricultural Production Cooperative] (Timis County).

It is estimated that the stations for obtaining biogas can meet 70-80 percent of the energy needs of the industrial-type livestock farms. This type of unconventional energy can be used efficiently both as fuel for heating water and production spaces and for internal combustion engines. The performance of agricultural work (including plowing) with tractors whose engines use biogas as fuel has been tested successfully at the Albota Agricultural Research Station (Arges County). However, the expansion of the utilization of solar energy and biogas in agriculture and in the other branches, including to obtain electric power, is conditioned by the results that will be obtained in research along the line of raising the conversion outputs, cutting the cost of the installations and equipment, and making profitable the process of obtaining energy in these ways.

In fact, the criteria for establishing the importance of resources express a relationship between the characteristics of the source and the use that we want to give it. In this context, the utilization of wind energy and animal energy--along with solar energy and biogas--can seem equally as important or insignificant.

The transformation of wind energy into mechanical energy needed for pumping water for irrigation¹ or for livestock and for preparing animal feed represents the most important application of wind energy in agriculture; with the efficient utilization of wind energy being possible at wind speeds above 15 km per hour (with the wind's intermittence being low), it is judged that in our country the wind installations can be extended to the hilly zones and to the southeastern part of the country.

Without feeling that there is an impasse in the progress of science and technology, we can also bring into discussion the necessity of expanding the utilization of the energy of draft animals, up to the limits dictated by the concrete conditions in each production unit (the structure of production, the providing of fodder resources, shelters, etc.).

Transportation over short distances and the transportation of farmyard manure, especially in wintertime, for fertilizing land, can be done with greater efficiency by means of draft animals.

The utilization of alternative energy sources and draft-animal energy provides for the substantiation of the energy strategy in agriculture, in accordance with the concrete production conditions, the level of science, the technologies known, and the quantitative limits of the resources.

FOOTNOTES

1. The results obtained in various countries in utilizing wind energy in agriculture are quite encouraging. A small wind power station of 1.5 kilowatts (it is transportable and can be assembled in a few tens of minutes), which can power pumps for irrigating at least 3 hectares, has been attained in Austria, for instance, and the assimilation of a 5,000-kilowatt wind installation, for big irrigation systems, is planned in the USSR.

The providing of water by means of wind energy for livestock and for irrigation through pumping from wells drilled near the farms and the preparation of animal feed on a local level (by means of mills), thus avoiding transportation and achieving great regularity in the supply, are elements that argue for the intensification of the concerns for utilizing wind energy in agriculture.

12105

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NEED FOR BETTER RESTRUCTURING OF EXPORTS

Bucharest REVISTA ECONOMICA in Romanian No 2, 10 Jan 87 pp 13-14, 19

[Article by Ioan Georgescu: "Current Requirements in the Efficient Structuring of Exportation"]

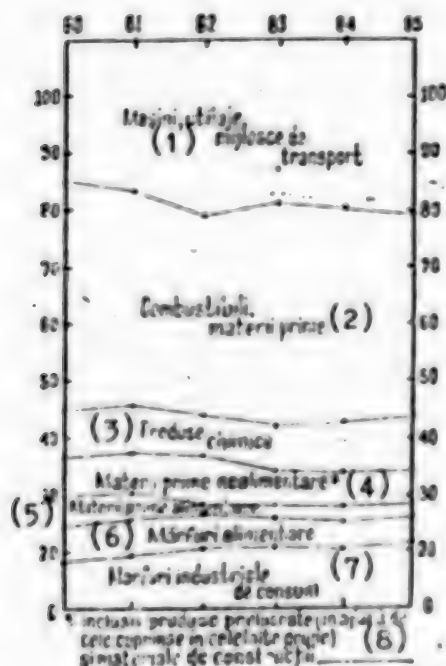
[Text] Economic growth of an intensive type constitutes the essential dimension in the process of advancing the Romanian economy toward the stage of a country with average development, a stage expressed by higher national income per capita and by consumer goods and services of a higher quality and quantity for each member of society. In order to identify more exactly the objectives that go to foreign trade activity within socialist reproduction of an intensive type, now and later, it is necessary to consider first the structure for achieving the proposed volume of value according to groups of goods.

In the 1980's, in the structure of our country's foreign economic exchanges, the percentage of the groups of highly processed products like machines, equipment, and means of transportation, chemical products, and industrial consumer goods have exhibited a constant trend of growth, exceeding 50 percent of the volume of foreign trade at the end of 1985 (Graph 1). We mention that, according to the statistical methodology, both the material goods and the services with a productive character that are exchanged between our country and other countries within the operations of trade and of industrial, scientific, and technical cooperation are included in the volume of foreign trade. Concretely, it is a question of operations having as an object the exportation and importation of goods, the exchange of goods, the performance of services, the design and execution of projects, technical assistance and collaboration, the sale or purchase of licenses for using patents or technological procedures, and reexportation.

The further fitting of our foreign trade into this trend—one of growth in the percentage of highly processed industrial products—is the result of the action of various factors, such as: the modernization process, under way in all branches, which will lead to the alignment of the products in all enterprises with the world level; and the expansion of technology transfer and exportation of engineering services through international economic cooperation and international services. In this regard, it should be recalled that, according to the law, "the ministries, the other central and local bodies, the centrals, the enterprises, and the other units producing goods for exportation, and the

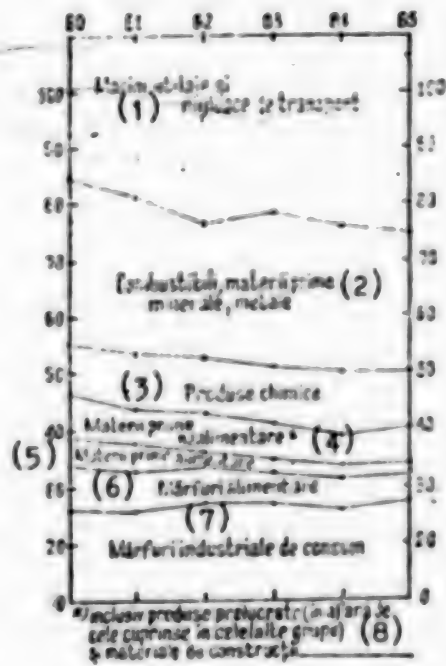
scientific research, technological engineering, and design units are obligated to ensure that the measures for improving the organization and modernizing the production processes lead to the adaptation of production to the requirements of the foreign market, the execution of products and technologies competitive on an international level, and the complete achievement of the commodity supply slated for exportation, in compliance with the conditions and dates set in the foreign contracts" (Decree No 318, 10 October 1986, Art 20). The legal framework and, respectively, the economic factors that converge toward the attainment of these objectives are thus also outlined.

The above-mentioned trend has manifested itself even more markedly in the structure of exportation in the 1980's (Graph 2), when the groups of machines, equipment, and means of transportation, chemical products, and industrial consumer goods have had positive balances of trade—that is, exportation has grown more rapidly than importation.



Graph 1. The Structure of Romania's Foreign Trade According to Groups of Goods in the 1980's

Key: 1. Machines, equipment, means of transportation
2. Fuels, raw materials
3. Chemical products
4. Nonfood raw materials
5. Food raw materials



Graph 2. The Structure of Romanian Exports According to Groups of Goods in the 1980's

6. Food merchandise
7. Industrial consumer goods
8. Including processed products (except for those included in the other groups) and construction materials

The steps taken last year to improve the organization and modernize the production processes and to raise the economic efficiency in all sectors of activity will stimulate the intensive character of economic development through the steady promotion and the generalization of technical progress. According to the law, on the basis of the results gotten in scientific research activity, the units producing for exportation are responsible for taking all the necessary steps for raising the efficiency of exportation by utilizing better the raw materials, supplies, fuel, and energy devoted to production for exportation, increasing the percentage of products with a high degree of technicality, sensibly utilizing the work force, cutting the manufacturing costs to a minimum, and continually raising the valuta contribution from export activity. In addition, the measures for improving the organization and modernizing the production processes must lead to the diversification of the forms of marketing, the expansion of the commodity markets, and the growth of the deliveries of designs, documentation, technologies, and technical assistance abroad.

Concretely, the attainment of the following objectives will be pursued in the above-mentioned branches: the faster introduction of new or redesigned products into production, the growth of the degree of typification and standardization of parts, subassemblies, and products, and the introduction and generalization of highly productive typified technologies with low consumptions of raw materials, supplies, fuel, and energy, under the conditions of raising the technical level of production by introducing electronics, microelectronics, and complex automation and by using robots; the introduction and expansion of modern procedures of casting in easily fusible molds, of cutting with plasma and lasers, of flexible systems, and of modern procedures of coating and treating parts; the expansion of the specialization of production sections and of interplant cooperation, with the general development of the branch being correlated with that of horizontal industry; in the production of cutting machine tools, the priority achievement of equipment with numerical control programs and displays of levels, of flexible processing centers, systems, and cells, and of machine tools for metalworking with unconventional procedures; the orientation of the development of the precision machinery industry in the direction of the production of manipulators and robots that will incorporate high-performance electronic equipment and apparatus; in the production of mining and petroleum equipment, the achievement of highly productive equipment for mechanizing the underground and surface work; the modernization of the production of energy equipment by assimilating new types of sets with high efficiency in the utilization of coal and combustible shale and in the recovery of reusable energy resources and by achieving new equipment for the hydroelectric and nuclear power stations; the development of the production of equipment for advanced metallurgical processing; the growth of the production of installations and equipment for the chemical industry, including for low-tonnage chemistry, for the construction materials industry, for light industry, and for the food and refrigerating industry, intended for the better utilization of agricultural and food raw materials; the modernization of the production of machines and equipment specific to agriculture and the typification of the entire production of tractors—with the 65-horsepower tractor being taken as a basis—with a view to raising the outputs and reducing the consumption of liquid fuel; the achievement of improved systems of machines and installations with high productivity and low consumptions of metal and fuel; the growth of

the degree of versatility of agricultural machines and the expansion of the typification of agricultural machines and equipment; the achievement of high-capacity and specialized types of means of transportation with improved technical and functional performances and low fuel consumptions; in the electro-technical industry, the diversification of the production of electric motors and machines, of means of automation and electric drives, of precision measurement and control apparatus, and of electric cables and conductors of special construction; and the modernization of the production of electric machines and apparatus for home use, particularly from the viewpoint of improving the energy efficiency; and the growth of the degree of modularization of components and, on this basis, of the automation of the assembly processes in the production of means of automation and equipment for industrial and professional electronics;

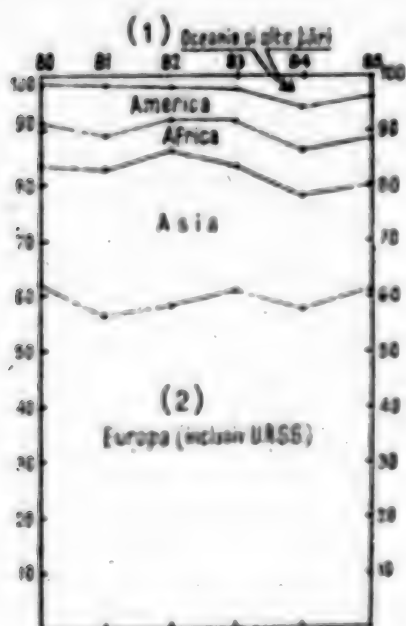
In the chemical industry, the measures for organization and modernization must lead to:

The improvement of the manufacturing technologies, the raising of the qualitative parameters of the products to a world level, and the reduction of the consumptions of raw materials and energy, the utilization of superactive catalysts and the devising of new technologies for the purpose of reducing the consumption and raising the degree of utilization of methane gas and the degree of extraction of useful substances from ores and from recovered reusable material resources and obtaining from nonpetroleum sources hydrocarbons that can be chemicalized; the recovery of residual energy and the complex utilization of manufacturing byproducts; the expansion of the utilization of process computers, especially in the industries for sodium chloride products, artificial threads and fibers, and drugs; the expansion of the methods of advanced processing of crude oil, the aim being to raise the percentage of white products; the expansion of the percentage of liquid chemical fertilizer and of combined fertilizer with trace elements; the orientation of pesticide production toward nonpolluting assortments with prolonged effectiveness; the achievement of the manufacture of chemical threads and fibers particularly in the high-value assortments; the expansion of the utilization of biosynthesis and fine-synthesis products in drug production, and the utilization of the resources of medicinal plants and bee and animal extracts; the manufacture of new assortments of rubber and plastic; the diversification of the production of processed materials, in correlation with the typification programs; in the production of lacquers, paints, dyes, and organic pigments, the achievement of assortments with better characteristics from domestic raw materials; and the reduction of the specific consumptions in the pulp and paper industry, along with the reduction of the weight, the growth of the proportion of reusable materials, and the more marked growth of the production of technical and special paper and cardboard.

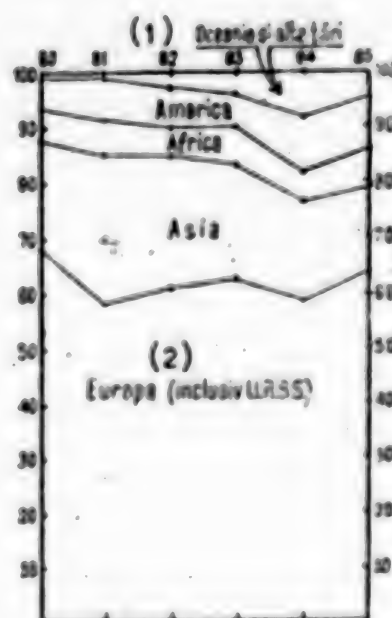
The implementation of these priority directions of intensive development in the current 5-year period will generate a rapid renovation of the export list, an improvement in the exchange ratio according to groups of goods and in foreign trade as a whole, a rise in the degree of processing of imported raw materials, and an increase in the profitability of exportation.

This year, special attention is being devoted to providing foreign contracts and orders for the units producing for exportation. The commercial potential of the specialized foreign trade enterprises is determined directly by the industrial producers' possibilities of flexibly adapting to the requirements of the foreign markets, and in its turn, this adaptation depends on the technological potential and the skill of the work force, on science's contribution to production, and on the organization of production and marketing, thus also leading to aspects contained in the organization and modernization programs.

The analysis of the structure of foreign trade activity according to zones (Graph 3) shows a priority orientation of our country's exchanges toward the European zone, including the USSR (about 60 percent of the volume of the exchanges), justified by our country's geographical position and by the important long-term trade agreements signed with the European socialist countries. At the same time, such an orientation reflects the competitiveness of our country's export products, with the European zone being characterized by high requirements in the market. In 1985, in the ranking of Romania's business partners, the USSR, with over 20 percent of the volume of the exchanges, was in first place, Egypt in second place, the FRG in third place, Italy in fourth place, the GDR in fifth place, and the United States in sixth place.



Graph 3. The Structure of Romania's Foreign Trade According to Geographical Zones in the 1980's



Graph 4. The Structure of Romanian Exports According to Geographical Zones in the 1980's

Key: 1. Oceania and other countries

2. Europe (including the USSR)

As regards the structure of Romanian exports according to geographical zones (Graph 4), an even more marked orientation toward the European zone is found (in 1985, about 65 percent of exportation was directed toward European countries, including the USSR). The ranking in the case of exports according to countries was the following: the USSR in first place with the same percentage as for total foreign trade, the FRG and Italy in second place with close percentages, the United States in third place, and the GDR in fourth place.

In general, major changes in the orientation of the exchanges according to zones from one period to another are not seen, which can be a sign of stability. The profound changes that will occur in the export list as early as the current 5-year period, in accordance with the contemporary scientific and technical revolution, mean practically that we will sell other things than we sell now, sometime products with another purpose, for other clients.

Each of the thousands of enterprises in our industry, each scientific research unit, and each service unit will need a collection of information updated from a technical and commercial viewpoint in order to achieve on the foreign market the efforts of creation "between the walls of the enterprise." The transition from marketing standard products to products with technical priority entails a different manner of approach both as to the commercial strategy (release, distribution channels, etc.) and from a technical and legal viewpoint.

As a rule, the marketing of new products from a legal viewpoint is done simultaneously with protecting the industrial property rights. In order to respond to this need in the USSR, for example, the polytechnic institutes have specialized sections of patent engineers which provide specialists in preparing inventions for patenting and which are occupied with protecting the enterprise's rights on foreign markets.

Often, the release of such new products is done not at the model fairs but at the idea fairs--that is, the international scientific congresses and the invention shows. In an initial stage, the marketing channels can be corresponding scientific institutes in other countries, which can then act as opinion leaders in the local economy for new products.

Practice has severely punished those enterprises that tried to disregard the absorptive characteristics of the foreign market, according to technical, quality, and quantity parameters, delivery dates, etc. The measures adopted along the line of speeding up the rate of turnover of the assets in enterprises will generate greater interest on the part of the producers in properly executing the export contracts and in actively participating in establishing the other contractual clauses (on price, payment, collection, etc.)

But they themselves can offer the best help by organizing and operating technical and commercial data banks. The level of use of essential sources of information like the patent library of the OSIM [State Office for Inventions and Trademarks], the library of standards of the Romanian Institute of Standardization, the library of the INID [National Institute for Scientific and Technical Information and Documentation], the many forms of economic and market information of the IEM [Institute of World Economics], etc. indicates the fact

that not all enterprises make a correlation between the rate of turnover of the assets that they administer and the degree of knowledge of the economic and technological environment into which they plan to send goods. The case of the engineer at a big Bucharest research institute, related in the press, who devised on his own a technical data bank of great practical value for the products with which he, but not only he, was occupied, having audio cassettes as a medium for the data, proves that the solution to this problem--which has become crucial in the current stage--is also a question of attitude. The very work of setting up these technical and commercial data banks can constitute a good means of technical and commercial retraining for the personnel of both the producer and the exporter. Under the conditions of the law, the centrals and enterprises get part of the valuta achieved above the plan, which can be used to improve the production process, to grant incentives to the working people, and--why not?--to get subscriptions to technical and economic publications needed for the enterprise's data bank.

Under the conditions in which, on the basis of the information obtained from their own marketing information systems, the industrial centrals can proceed to devise dynamic export programs, the proposals regarding the establishment of value targets for exportation according to centrals and physical targets for a small number of products make sense. Under these conditions, the centrals, together with the foreign trade enterprises, would have to establish the products and assortments within the framework of the value positions, in accordance with the requirements of the foreign markets and the feasible contracts.

The specialization of export production according to the criterion of intensive development does not mean particularly the reservation of production capacities and sections for export deliveries but especially the making of economic analyses of the export list according to criteria of efficiency. The specialization of export production must start from a ranking of the export products according to complex criteria of profitability, integration, added value, and marketing prospects at the level of the enterprise, but also from the angle of the interests of the national economy. The products selected must permit release at higher qualitative levels in international trade, and the rate of renovation practiced on the world market must be attained.

According to the macroeconomic criteria, the execution of turnkey facilities and the performance of construction-assembly work perhaps seem more profitable than the direct exportation of cement or windows, and the exportation of musical instruments more profitable than the exportation of matches, the elimination of a bottleneck in the exportation of machines or electric motors by rationalizing the exportation of iron castings or cables by the meter, or the stimulation of the exportation of agricultural products by limiting the exportation of chemical fertilizer.

It is known that the small-scale industry in a number of West-European states bases its profitability on a number of imports of subassemblies and parts imported at advantageous prices from Eastern Europe, which, after assembly, permit the obtaining of a high rate of profit.

The new requirements that intensive development raises also refer--as the secretary general of the party, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, stated at the Conference With Personnel in Foreign Trade Activity--to the idea of approaching and solving economic problems in the revolutionary spirit and being fully involved in implementing the programs for improvement in organization and for modernization. The firm application of the law on the improvement of the vocational training of the working people on all levels of social production provides the premises for a new outlook on production and foreign trade and gives confidence in economic science's capacity to reduce the risk of operations on the foreign market through systematic forms and techniques of selling.

12105

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ECONOMIST FAULTS OUTDATED, UNCOMPETITIVE SYSTEM

Belgrade EKONOMSKA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Mar 87 pp 24-26

[Interview with Dr Ljubisa Adamovic, professor of economics at Belgrade, by Fedja Zimic: "Debt--Alibi or Opportunity"]

[Text] Every fluctuation in Yugoslav exports, even the slightest one, automatically raises the question: will the government be able to protect the fragile confidence of international creditors in a solvent debtor? Recently, several economists in Yugoslavia presented calculations as to how much exports would have to be increased annually solely to preserve the status of a debtor who settles his obligations to foreign creditors. However, the same calculations indicate that with the present constellation of relationships within the domestic economy an exceptional effort to increase exports would not result in even one additional dollar of accumulation, which once again means that Yugoslavia will continue to see its technological and technical credentials on the international market deteriorate, and the ever increasing poverty of goods for export and for the domestic market will spread still farther. Current economic policy, as well as political will, have indicated that they will not go any farther than making superficial corrections as a part of approaching changes in so-called systemic laws and the SFRY Constitution itself. These are some of the themes discussed by our reporter Fedja Zimic and Dr Ljubisa Adamovic, professor in the Department of Economics at Belgrade. We present the interview unedited.

Ljubisa Adamovic: It is no exaggeration to say that the situation is extremely serious and that it makes necessary a serious revision of a number of ideas and conceptions as a precondition for essential, organizational, and technical changes which have to be carried out as a part of short-term economic policy. Probably one of the more difficult components in the whole structure is the necessity for constantly protecting Yugoslavia's delicate and fragile international liquidity to such a great extent. In some ways this almost paralyzes thinking along other lines. We are trying hard to protect this liquidity, and there is no advantage in guaranteeing the permanence and stability of this designation. Of course, pessimists can say that perhaps things will get worse, which is true, but the essence of the actual dilemma is: is it possible for things to get better for us?

I think that the voices of the "optimists" who say that a team of "more intelligent" people in power would need only a year to straighten things out are unacceptable. I would not be an advocate of such ideas, no matter how sincere and well-intentioned they might be, because the roots of our difficulties are such that there is no brain trust of this type which might be able, as they say, to straighten things out in a year. In other words, I think that the problem of Yugoslavia's international liquidity is one of the most important incentives for reexamining the principle assumptions upon which the existing system of economic functioning is based, and in this regard this otherwise serious difficulty can be of positive value from a long-term point of view. We need to get out of the nirvana of deceit and self-satisfaction in what we have achieved, and this self-satisfaction is based only on looking back uncritically—to where we were 40 years ago! No one does this in civilized societies without the risk of being turned out by the voters. Of course, the question of voters inevitably comes up there. This self-satisfaction is a two-fold danger because it eliminates the possibility of taking a more contemporary approach to looking at the future and because this turning to the past means nothing to the younger generations. Each bit of progress made in a society is taken by each new generation as a fait accompli. Stories told to young men and women of how the older generation 40 years ago walked around in wooden shoes which were given out according to strict criteria of distribution of poverty, are only potentially interesting reading selections, but they do not stimulate and promote progress. To put it simply—and this is fortunate—these stories are something not normal, not real to the young generation, and therefore from the point of view of political propaganda, this constant emphasis on the past has a boomerang effect.

Therefore, while striving to closely examine the difficulties of the whole situation in a dialectic manner, it is necessary to assume as a stimulus that we are confronted with real reasons at all levels for the difficult state of the Yugoslav economy. Moreover, when considering our relationship with the world we should refrain from insisting that the international environment is unfavorable for us. Let us not forget that many countries in similar situations have been able to find a way out. Why, for instance, during those years in which the US had the greatest amounts of imports, has it been necessary for Yugoslavia to be one of seven countries in the world which have a deficit with the US? In other words, why does it hinder us both when the dollar rises and when it falls, that is, why does everything hinder us? The answer is apparent—because we have neither adapted nor have we been adaptable. Perhaps we can "accuse" foreign influences for this lack of adaptability, but the basic root—we have to admit this to ourselves—lies in the internal functioning of a system which functions negatively in preparing our economic operators for going out in the world. We have to tell ourselves that there is no contract economy in the world; it exists in one other sense—when large monopolists agree on how to behave in a market. Considering this, what keeps our large firms from agreeing on how to act in a world market? This atomized system which is anti-technological and anti-accumulative is just not competitive on the world market.

I must explain what this "anti" is. Indeed, we are all full of knowledge about the bad aspects of alienation and about the advantages of our system. But our system is so full of advantages as well as the "advantages" of becoming clumsy and inert, that for this reason it is absolutely incapable of competing with other systems, which is apparent in the degree of our indebtedness, among other things. In order to maintain what standard it has and which is leading us nowhere--and this means not from the point of view of consumption, but from that of technology and development--Yugoslavia needs to be provided with an additional annual foreign accumulation of approximately \$5 to \$6 billion. Because of this I still stand by a statement I made earlier, that if someone wrote off our foreign debts, completely, both interest and principle, we would need four years for our debt principle to arrive again at a level of \$12 billion, because we need this just to get along. Moreover, we would not even have enough to accommodate modernizing our defense forces, advancing science, forming new jobs--it means we would only be marching in place.

These are all clear signals that we cannot find a genuine way out of our situation with cheap, superficial cosmetic changes and only by using words. We can repair, patch things up to some extent. That is why I am reminded of an English proverb which says: "Watch out for the captain who orders the crew to polish the decks while the ship is sinking." I would say that foreign debt is perhaps our last chance to use an outside, relatively objective, factor to direct us towards finding proper solutions and to get ourselves away from a state of self-satisfaction. Just as we bravely introduced new ideas of self-management 30 years ago, the time is now to revise what has been done. Upon hearing something like this some people react adversely, feeling that it is a demand for changing socialism. To this response I would pose the question: but who says that socialism must not be changed? Do we want to exchange "one sacred cow" for another or do we want to be truly creative in socialism? That is why I would say that our greatest danger is not foreign debts, it is not economic poverty, but poverty of spirit, it is the attempt to deaden through various pressures the creative energy of that party of society which is always in the minority in every society--that is, the intelligencia, the educated workers. Moreover, I am not thinking only of a learned elite, but of the creative segment of the working class, of the managerial area, and of all those who are at the top of their fields, from corn producers to leading scholars.

I think that it may be useful to say once again that the foreign pressure of debts does not negatively determine the situation, because it is not going too far to say that there would not be this pressure if we continued to be self-satisfied with our own creation. We should not forget that even the Long-Range Program of Economic Stabilization was the result of strong pressure from outside.

[Question] You are talking about self-satisfaction achieved with respect to the period of 40 years ago. There are indications, seriously substantiated by quantitative measures, that Yugoslavia was in a much better situation than compared to quite a few countries which are ahead of it today.

[Answer] This variance about which you speak is quite obvious. Indeed, it is easy to be the general after the battle. In other words, making a number of mistakes in carrying out economic policy is unavoidable. In this regard it would be a mistake for us to become frustrated because of every mistake in carrying out economic policy. I would like particularly to emphasize this because in the existing system we still do not have that powerful "watch dog" of economic decisions, our internal Cerberus--no one bears the responsibility for a business decision. In this regard, I would like to give the following illustration using the example of the US. Approximately 500,000 new companies are started each year in that country. The numbers show that not even 50 percent of these companies survive the first year. Thus, a process of selection is carried out. But the very next year another 500,000 are started, and capital changes hands; it goes from those who have shown that their business is not making it to those whose business is. The important thing is maximum rationalization of the use of assets, or capital. Regardless of the fact that the system is different when examined on an operational basis, it is a more efficient system of resource allocation. For this reason I would say that instead of being critical in examining what has been accomplished in the past (which is not to question the validity of criticism of past and present failures), it would be better to use our talents and energies more for future decision-making.

In this regard I agree that it would be useful to be more precise in analyzing the basic starting points of inflation. But to do this it is necessary to open up the process of demystification to a far greater extent--which projects in the republics and provinces swallow the greatest amount of foreign debt and regional accumulation which is used only to keep these "economic monsters" alive. When we have successfully eliminated only those areas which eat up the lion's share of the accumulation of those who have been successful, we will indeed have significant savings.

However, I would add one more thing when considering how to stop the advancing danger of having Yugoslavia being absolutely left in the dust in the progression of civilization. Above all, the system has to decide whether it will continue to foster equalization at an ever decreasing level. All countries which attain something do it by having a sharp differentiation between the successful and the unsuccessful. I think that herein lies part of the essence of our handicap, because we do not foster competitiveness, selectivity. There is an exceptionally small number of successful business people who are paid considerably better than, let us say, politicians.

[Question] You talked about the short duration of cosmetic changes, about the necessity of competition, about a "watch dog" process, that is, bearing the risks which force capital to go where it will be more effective, more successful. How do you see possible cuts for greater efficiency--in addition to these decisions involving social property which is really a hybrid of state property--without having someone who truly bears that risk for business decisions?

[Answer] Along with the obligatory qualification that I am not an expert on the question of property, which is, for the most part, a question for lawyers and sociologists, and looking at it rather simply, I would establish a connection between the one who makes the decision and the one who bears the risk, or, responsibility. What we certainly can do, if we do not want to change the status of social property, is this: those who have obtained the right to make decisions regarding social property should be under as little interference from the state and from politicians as possible. Market forces as a part of social ownership should be permitted to operate. And we should allow enterprise "A" in social ownership to be closed if it was managed poorly, and enterprise "B" to "adopt" the property and part of its work force. Thus we would have one form of selectivity in social ownership. This means we would have to be freed of the preconceived notion that everything that has been started must be retained. However, to do this, somewhat of a precondition is to have as large a market as possible so that integration is achieved by functional and organic means and not by institutional methods within local dimensions.

[Question] Leaving for the time being the legal aspect of ownership, how do you, as an economist, see a market under socialism truly overcoming the influence of politics on the decisions of those responsible for social ownership?

[Answer] One has to recognize that this is still far from ideal, but the inevitable question one poses is, what is the alternative? I don't think we have to explain to the Yugoslav public why state ownership of the Soviet type does not correspond to modern democratic socialism. We also don't need the alternative of some of the existing forms of capitalism. What is left, then? What is left is the possibility of an organized market. Because let us not forget that the ideal market, like the one taught in models at school, does not exist. Thus, when I say an organized market I should give an example. In the first place, I think it is necessary to provide for a minimum existence at the level of the whole society which every individual ought to have regardless of how his enterprise is operating. All else should be subordinated to the market.

In a competitive society in which the doors have been opened for education, development, and employment we will be selective because in spite of this everything will prove to be difficult to attain. Of course, I don't think that we won't have problems if we were to follow this model tomorrow. Certainly we will, but these will be problems of development and growth and not problems of stagnation. It would mean a market which moves social ownership to those who are successful and not according to orders of political forums, even those of informal groups. One should not forget that today we have a quasi-market with a nationalized economy where those who make decisions are neither formally nor in reality responsible. Looking at it from this point of view, it is really a miracle that the situation is not worse than it is.

Of course, other problems will appear. We cannot have a competitive society in business and not have one in science, in politics, and in all the other realms of human activity. And competitiveness would truly be a factor which would impose new rules of play, rules which would push us ahead in the direction of progress. Of course, this would not suit many of us. Because, as it would not suit the mediocre producer, neither would it suit the mediocre scholar, writer, politician, etc. If SI7s are at the opstina level, and I am an individual writer, then opstina standards would be essential. Imagine what would happen if Yugoslav standards, not to mention world standards, were to govern at the university. This situation of having local standards, where everything is measured by local criteria, only reiterates the state of self-destruction through the so-called contract economy, applied sometimes in business, sometimes in science, etc.

Unfortunately, the result of this situation is that today Yugoslavia has fewer learned world authorities with 15 than it did before World War II when it had three universities.

[Question] When one talks about eliminating unsuccessful enterprises often the danger of profound social shock is cited as a major argument for abandoning this program; this is a long-term alibi so that everyone would survive even though official policy might indeed be pretty close to the logic you were discussing, that the successful take over the unsuccessful. Putting it another way, how do you bring the market into politics, and eventually make it possible for those who are capable of making the cuts you mentioned to come to this position?

[Answer] When it is necessary to eliminate those firms which have been shown to be incapable of operating successfully, not even in the western countries does it mean that they all have to wind up impoverished out on the streets. Similarly, a number of analyses have indicated that it would be far cheaper for the entire team, from the doorman to the general director, to receive public assistance in the amount of their salary and to stop production which has only caused losses. On the other hand, we have to have development programs for successful firms; moreover, one should not flinch at the idea that even foreign specialists should organize production. However, even though it is technically feasible to "sell off" a failed firm, whether a part of it or as a whole, this is not possible because of our spiritual state, because of our own beliefs. I am not alone when I say that our crisis is a crisis of spirits, a crisis of ideology, a crisis of creativity, and not just one of economics. I am an optimist with regard to economic possibilities, and I see the major problems lying in our ideological and spiritual restrictions. Unfortunately, it is becoming increasingly apparent that our top-quality cadres are pouring out to foreign countries, and that we are proclaiming the mediocre to be leaders. It is remarkable to see how the best students, at least as far as I have been able to see, are deciding to go abroad because they no longer see any prospects of themselves here.

Without making our economy more dynamic, of course, we will not be able to resolve social problems, and already for a decade we have proven that

we cannot get our economy going with the Law on Associated Labor, which is an anti-system for modern society. However, if the majority of citizens don't think this and think that the situation is acceptable, that we can do without essential changes, then these same citizens must give up comparing ourselves with Europe and the developed world and abandon demands for an increase in living standards. Perhaps we will be able to distribute an ever decreasing amount of revenues in an increasingly more perfect way!

[Question] In practical terms, this means that the focal point of decision-making in economic matters is transferred to the field of politics.

[Answer] I think that every decision-making process involves politics. However, we must free ourselves of having politics in the narrowest sense of the word influencing decisions to such an extent, and having leaders in the economy bear responsibility, which is again meted out by politics! In other words, we cannot maintain a situation in which certain businessmen are favorites of political teams, but we must favor those who have become successful with skill, ability, and intelligence. In the modern world, everyone knows who the manager is, and they often don't know the owner of the company. Everyone knows who Lee Iacocca is because he raised Chrysler from the dead, but who knows the name of the Secretary of Transportation in the US? And no one is upset because this manager makes two or three times as much money as the secretary. This is the way this society has shown how much it values a successful business person. Indeed, even the secretary is well-paid, but his work is also very "market-oriented," or exposed to the public and to risk. It is symptomatic that we allow only singers and athletes to be paid unusually well. This indicates the spiritual state and the position of business in our scale of value. I am not against large earnings, of course, not even for singers, but I am for creating a climate in which the businessman and the producer are inspired to perform better. We cannot find a way out of our present situation by using models from 35 years ago. That is why replacing these models is inevitable.

Finally, I would like to say that there are no quick solutions, and that there are no solutions in general without additional capital and new technology. The fact that we have no assets (financial) does not mean that we do not have any productive elements. Our most precious element is our people, their ambition and ability. That is why we have to make it possible for foreign capital, in a very flexible manner and without fear, to be engaged in the Yugoslav economy and for our country to be included on a partnership basis in global marketing, in the world cycle of expanded reproduction; this will have a reflexive effect on the rest of the Yugoslav economy as well. Although this also carries some risks, it nevertheless opens up more secure possibilities for progress.

Although the "catch word" is so-called small business, I think that there can be no way out of our crisis without putting so-called big business in order. Because small business can exist only if big business exists, with whom it is complementary, to whom it delivers either parts or some

form of its "outpost". Together with all this there is a great illusion that our workers temporarily employed abroad will be inclined to invest in the Yugoslav economy without really seeing guarantees of stability in big business and stability in the legal system. In spite of all that, a system in which those who acquire, through great effort and against intense competition, property in a foreign country must be brought before a local community jury in order to judge whether the enrichment was justifiable or unjustifiable--outside the country and at home--doesn't stand a chance.

9548/9190

CSO: 2800/160

7

REASONS FOR DECREASED BANK SAVINGS DEPOSITS DISCUSSED

Belgrade EKONOMSKA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Mar 87 pp 20-21

[Article by Dr Milan Kovacevic: "Effects of Monetary Policy"]

[Text] Because of the increasingly greater disparity between insufficient domestic savings and the increasingly greater needs for capital accumulation, the population's savings are becoming more and more important. Not only has the import of foreign accumulation dried up, but the export of domestic accumulation through interest payments and debt reduction has begun, and consequently, there is an increasingly greater gap between extensive expenditure and modest savings. If one adds to this the inability of the socialized economy as a whole to cover its investments through its own accumulation, then one can see the real dependence of society's capital replacement upon the population's willingness to save, and the economic system's ability to use those savings productively.

In 1985, the working capital alone of the whole socialized economy swallowed up the amount of 8,424 billion dinars as it increased. In the same year, the entire economy succeeded in increasing its business funds out of its business results by only 1,020 billion dinars, with simultaneous losses of 318 billion dinars. If the net 812 billion dinars earned is increased by the 1,089 billion dinars in amortization of fixed assets, then it again turns out that the total of 1,901 billion dinars in self-financing is covered by only somewhat more than a fifth of the investments made in working capital—but it is only when working capital is covered that investment in fixed assets comes into consideration.

At the end of 1985, 3,875 billion dinars in financial savings were collected from the population in different ways. If one subtracts from this the 591 billion dinars that was used by the population itself in the form of credits, then it turns out that the population's net financing of other sectors was 3,284 billion dinars. The socialized sector of the economy, as the banking system's largest net debtor, made abundant use of the population's savings as a source of financing.

The population's savings increase when part of the population's income is not used for expenditures. In 1970, the population's income was only 4 percent higher than expenditures. That modest savings rate gradually grew, and at the

end of the 1980's reached a full 15 percent of the population's total income. In 1982 and again in 1983 only 5 percent of the population's total income was set aside, and in 1984 it even fell to 4 percent. It still remains to be explained why in 1985 the population's earnings again exceeded total expenditures by 12 percent.

A unique feature of the population's savings in our country is that as of October 1986 74 percent of them have been in foreign exchange. For that reason, the nominal dinar amount of savings grows automatically with an increase in the exchange rate of the currencies in which the savings are held. This can also be seen from the relationship of the real savings and their nominal amount in billions of dinars:

Table 1

Description	1983	1984	1985
Income minus expenditures of the population	117	155	827
Growth in population's net savings	473	620	1,643

The significance of the population's savings for financing other sectors also depends upon the extent to which the population itself uses credits. In 1979, 38 percent of the amount of savings collected from the population was used by the population itself through various types of credits. Those credits, however, experienced sharp restrictions, so that their corresponding share in 1985 fell to only 15 percent. The justification of such a development by anti-inflationary needs is not very convincing, because the same money was spent elsewhere. Conversely, it is likely that this development had a discouraging effect upon the population's savings, and thus actually created inflationary pressure.

It has been said that the population's savings in Yugoslavia are higher than could have been expected at our level of development. In order to verify the grounds for such assertions, we will first cite statistical data in billions of dinars for several years:

Table 2

Description	1977	1980	1982	1983	1984	1985
Net savings	48	64	69	92	94	107
Increase in savings	4	1	9	23	2	13
Social product	325	381	388	384	392	394
Population's income	226	252	264	277	264	290
% increase in social product	1	-	2	6	1	3
% increase in income	2	-	3	8	1	4

By looking at an even longer period, one can observe that in 1981 the real volume of net savings even declined. During the entire period from 1976 to 1985, the changes ranged from a 1.3 percent decrease to a 6.1 percent

increase. During that period, on the average, the population's net savings were about 1.9 percent of the social product. With savings averaging below 3 percent of the population's total income, we are by no means persistent savers. Let us say only that in Great Britain, the inhabitants save about 8 percent of their earnings, and that in certain periods the rate of savings in the United States has reached a fourth of earnings.

Changes can also be observed in the source of the population's savings in Yugoslavia. In 1982, more than 51 percent of the population's income came from net salaries under employment contracts. Continually declining, that percentage was only a little higher than 46 percent in 1985. Savings are coming more and more from the population's other types of income. A significant part of them are still of foreign origin. It is interesting that growth in the share of receipts from abroad in the population's total income has always been accompanied by growth in the share of outflow abroad in the total expenditures of the population, and vice versa. One could conclude from this that such savings are dependent upon the need to spend them, or that people's need for foreign exchange even occurs first, so that it can be legalized by being bought and deposited in foreign exchange accounts and thus used to satisfy needs.

Bonds constitute only a small part of the population's savings. Also significant is the absence of any role for insurance in the collection of savings. This can easily be seen from the fact that the total assets and liabilities of the insuring organizations are almost equal to their income for one year. It is obvious that insurance claims are immediately settled with income from premiums, although the essential stabilizing role of insurance is thereby lost. The bulk of the population's savings is in savings accounts at banks and postal savings banks. The difficulties in moving savings and the payment turnover for depositors also do not encourage savings. Separate current and transfer accounts for citizens are a completely inefficient solution, and poorly organized checking transactions keep more cash in the hands of the population than necessary.

Running to Foreign Exchange

The greatest obstacle to more conscious saving by the population is naturally inflation. The continuing acceleration of inflation has a particularly negative effect. Here is an index of retail prices and the cost of living for the years in which they have been continually rising.

Table 3

Description	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
Retail prices	130	139	157	176	188
Cost of living	132	141	153	174	189

Under the conditions of inflation, savings behave differently, depending on which currency is saved and what interest rate applies to them. During a period of markedly low and negative interest rates for dinar savings, the population, to a great extent, transferred its savings to foreign exchange,

while little more than the necessary liquidity remained in dinars. Here are the data on the structure of savings in October 1986.

Table 4

Total	100
Deutsche marks	46
Dinars	26
U.S. dollars	11
Swiss francs	7
Austrian shillings	4
Other currencies	6

The return on foreign exchange savings depends mostly on changes in the exchange rate. Furthermore, since the middle of last year there has been a differentiation among interest rates for different currencies, allegedly in accordance with the local interest rates in the countries of origin of each currency. All of this means that saving money in our banks in a certain currency, without any opportunity to convert it to some other currency, is a sort of gamble, which does not favor organized saving. Here is how savers fared with the exchange rates last year:

Table 5

Currency	1 January	31 December	Index
Swiss franc	151	280	85
Austrian shilling	18	33	83
Deutsche mark	128	234	83
Italian lira	0.19	0.34	79
Swedish krona	41	67	63
British pound	454	670	48
U.S. dollar	313	457	46

Obviously, with a growth in retail prices of 92 percent during the period from the beginning to the end of 1986, no increase in an exchange rate gave savers real interest. Consequently, interest served to preserve the bulk of the deposits. If we take savings deposited for terms of over 12 months, here is how savers fared with interest in 1986:

Table 6

Currency	Exchange rate difference	Average interest	Nominal interest	Real interest
Swiss frank	85	7.5	99	+4
Austrian shilling	83	7.6	97	+3
Deutsche mark	83	7.3	96	+2
Italian lira	79	10.4	98	+3
Swedish krona	63	9.4	78	-7
Dinar	-	66	66	-14

British pound	48	9.6	62	-16
U.S. dollar	46	8.6	59	-17

Those with sight deposits in foreign exchange received an even lower interest rate, by 1 to over 7 percent (for the Italian lira). During the first half of the year, dinar deposits for over 3 months had an interest rate close to the interest for a period of over 12 months. During the second half of the year, that rate particularly decreased. Dinar sight deposit savings at 7.5 percent interest rapidly lost their value. It should be noted that term deposits for less than a year in dinars, and for more than a year in foreign exchange, are the most popular forms of the population's savings.

The reduction in interest rates in the middle of last year had a negative effect on the amount of savings. During the first 10 months of last year, foreign exchange savings grew by 61.4 percent, dinar savings by only 32.7 percent, and the population's total savings by 52.8 percent. When one compares this with the 76 percent growth in prices during the same period, one can see that the real value of the population's savings declined by about 16 percent. As one could expect, at the same time there was a continued transfer from dinar to foreign exchange savings.

Role of Interest

The way in which interest is calculated for credits and deposits is also significant for the population's attitude toward savings. For credits, the usual way, when the annual interest rate is 24 percent, for instance, is to take the rate of 2 percent to calculate the monthly installments. Furthermore, it is not really unusual for a credit installment to be calculated quarterly, so that a third of it would be set as the monthly amount, which is even more unfavorable for the borrower.

With 3-month deposits at the same annual rate of 24 percent, the banks, unfortunately, do not give the depositors 6 percent, which would result from the same methodology. Instead of this, the banks shortchange the depositors, in such a way that in the above-mentioned case they would give them only 5.5 percent interest for the quarter. At higher rates, the difference is naturally greater. Furthermore, they clumsily justify themselves with the possibility of obtaining 24 percent interest for a year through the interest on the interest from that 5.5 percent quarterly. They forget that by investing the credit installments, by the end of the year the banks actually get more than 24 percent interest on the credits, at a monthly interest rate of 2 percent. Obviously, the population is being shortchanged through the application of different methods of calculating interest when collecting and investing money.

The population's savings, although due attention is obviously not being paid to them, are still the most abundant source of financing for the country's payments on its debt and for investments by the socialized sector of the economy. Credit restrictions unjustifiably block the population itself from using its savings, which has an unfavorable effect on savings and the

population's involvement in accelerating economic development. Above all, successful ways of attracting savings by citizens from abroad have not been found.

Bank savings accounts are almost the only means of collecting savings. Because of a mistaken policy in the past, the bulk of savings is in foreign exchange, while they are invested in the socialized economy in dinars. In such a situation, the price of savings depends more on the depreciation of the dinar than on the interest for any currency based on the rates in the currencies' countries of origin. Finally, it depends least of all on interest policy in Yugoslavia. Consequently, the policy of exchange rates for foreign currencies and opportunities to own foreign exchange are extremely important, especially when there are different exchange rates for different foreign currencies, since by converting savings from a poorer currency to a better one, the depositor can gain more than the interest itself. Furthermore, the relationship of the dinar interest and the changes in the exchange rate and the foreign exchange interest is extremely important for restoring depositors' confidence in the domestic currency. It is only when the costs of dinar and foreign exchange financing are equalized that there will again be renewed interest in dinar savings. The creation of losses at commercial banks through the processing of foreign exchange sources into dinar investments will also cease then.

Under the existing conditions, saving by the population is not sufficiently encouraged, nor is it a suitable source of financing for capital accumulation by the deficit socialized economy. This article has only indicated the directions in which both can be improved.

9909

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TITOGRAĐ SOCCER PLAYERS VISIT SHKODER

Split NEDELJNA DALM'CIJA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Jan 87 pp 14-15

[Article by Dragoljub Klikovac: "The New Face of Albania: One Day in Shkoder"]

[Text] "That is Albania!"--that statement by my parents and the view of the snowy outlines of the harsh Prokletje mountains were all that could be learned for decades concerning the nation about 20 kilometers away from my native region--so close geographically, but in actuality immeasurably distant. One can hardly believe it! Can politics really "go so far" as to separate parents and children, brothers and sisters, and two nations--neighbors which history has simply "entangled" many, many times, in diverse situations?

Sudden Invitation

For four decades I have been looking at that "impenetrable wall," and for four decades my contemporaries and I have often wondered, "Damn it, what's going on over there now, on the other side?" And then, quite suddenly during the final days of 1986 a friendly invitation arrived for the soccer players of Titograd's "Buducnost" [Future] team to visit the Albanian city of Shkoder. The initial disbelief turned into delight, and then immediately into a real scramble for seats on the bus. Such exceptionally great interest in the excursion to Albania resulted in a request to the Albanian authorities for approval of two more buses of "soccer fans." Then we experienced one more surprise: the Albanians answered that there was no problem and that there was no limit on the number of people who could come with the Buducnost soccer players. Thousands of interested people immediately came forward. The Buducnost people were in great difficulty, because there were "only" two more buses available in addition to the bus for the players and the coaches. That was not enough for all of the people who wanted to go to Shkoder. One had to be courageous and above all "hard-hearted" in order to deny a parent the opportunity to see his child before the end of his life, or deny a brother the opportunity to meet his sister... Nevertheless, the list of those traveling to Shkoder was somehow patched together, and visas were also requested for another 20 overbooked people. There were no difficulties there either. The Albanians even welcomed the overbooked ones. They also received official visas, but a sort of distrust still lingered on everyone's part. Memories of Buducnost's visit to Shkoder about 10 years ago, when the Titograd champion played in the Balkan Cup in that city, contributed to this. At that time,

many people did not receive visas, not even the club's president at the time, only the players and the most essential accompanying personnel were able to go to Shkoder, and a few people accompanying Buducnost were turned back at the border itself.

We thought about this while we were approaching the Albanian border. We went through Yugoslav customs quickly, and then people could be heard saying, "Now the Albanians are going to hold on to us!"

Warm Welcome

These "know-it-alls" were very quickly refuted, however. The Albanians really took care of the customs formalities at top speed, just as a matter of form. They did not even raise the question of the number of travelers, even though there was obviously a "surplus" in the bus. The door of the most closed border in the world was wide open to us. All of this lasted about 20 minutes, and then those customs formalities were followed by a welcome from two civilians, who entered the bus and said:

"We will be your hosts while you are visiting Albania. Ask whatever you want. We are here to satisfy your every wish. We will show you everything you want in Shkoder," said one of our hosts, named Fazlija.

And thus we moved through a previously inscrutable territory. A narrow asphalt road wound through a stony region bristling with numerous bunkers, which sprung up from the ground like mushrooms. They were soon "mingled" with pear tree seedlings planted among the stones.

"We will soon arrive in Busat, a town known for its recreation and pears," Fazlija informed us.

The sight of a settlement mainly consisting of brick houses "burst" from around a bend in the road. People, who had obviously been informed of our visit, gathered next to the road. No one was working, and all of them lined both sides of the road greeting us. The joke that "The Albanians are not working because it is raining cats and dogs" was heard, but we learned that the day before, in an even greater downpour, they had all been working out in the fields cooperatively in groups, by hand, without any machinery whatsoever.

The road continued, and the rocks were replaced by ploughed land sown with wheat and filled with bunkers that had already begun to be covered by weeds. There were also bunkers in the small town of Kizi, even in the schoolyards.

"Every settlement has an elementary school and an agricultural one. There are 12 vocational schools in Shkoder. There is no college. There is one in Tirana," Fazlija told us.

Moving Meetings

We arrived in Shkoder after a half-hour's ride. The city has 75,000 inhabitants. It has wide and extremely clean streets, with mostly three-story buildings--without facades?! There is almost no traffic. We met only two

old-fashioned buses, and several trucks with small eaves on the bodies where drenched passengers took shelter from the rain.

Our buses stopped in front of the eight-story hotel Rozafa, which is also surrounded by bunkers. We did not notice them at once, because a crowd of several thousand people pressed up in front of the bus. They wanted to welcome us at once, and meet their relatives... Questions were heard like:

"Is there anyone here from the Mustagrudices? Here are the Tuzovices--did any of our people come? What about the Popovices, the Marases, the Matanovices?"

There were moving meetings after 40 years. There were meetings between parents and children, who were in fact already people of mature years. It was most moving, however, to see the faces of those who met the bus, but did not find any of their relatives from Yugoslavia. They also received a sort of consolation soon; we told them everything associated with their Yugoslav relatives. This was the event of a lifetime for them--a real holiday.

We found an exchange office in the hotel; one lek is worth 80 dinars. With Albanian currency--the lek--we went into the city. We soon noted that the selection for purchases was very small. The items available in the textile shops are like those in Yugoslavia at the beginning of the 1950's. Our attention was attracted by stands full of fruit and two souvenir shops. There are a lot of them with the image of Stalin, rather expensive for our circumstances, and so we contented ourselves with curiosity. We wanted to go into stores selling food products, but we did not find any?! Our courteous hosts provided us with information, and were constantly at hand. They invited us to their homes, and wanted to entertain us. We looked around, and no one was watching us. We moved as freely as if we had been in Titograd!

A square with a small park was full of people. There was no traffic, only a few bicycles, but a traffic officer stood at the crossroads stubbornly and unnecessarily using his whistle. There was a large bronze monument to Stalin in the square. We learned that there are only two monuments to Stalin in the world--this one, and another one in Georgia!

A friend and I went into a luxuriously furnished bar. In contrast to others that were full of patrons, this one was almost completely empty. We drank two cognacs and a coffee apiece, and paid 14 leks for this, which confirmed to us that prices were approximately the same as in Yugoslavia, which is too high for Albanians; perhaps that was the reason why this bar was not full of patrons. We wanted to leave the waitress a tip, but she stubbornly refused, asserting that if anyone ought to treat it was her.

There Are Also Hajduk Fans in Shkoder!

The rain was falling harder and harder. We wanted to buy an umbrella, but did not find one anywhere. We were told that those could only be bought in Shkoder in the fall, before the beginning of the rainy season.

We returned to the hotel. A color TV set with a folklore program, clearly videotaped, was on continuously in the vestibule. We found out that it had

been set up especially for us Yugoslavs. There was a big crowd in the foreign exchange shop. Purchases were being made for dollars, marks, lire, and dinars. A U.S. dollar is worth 600 dinars there. Most in demand are the famous Albanian "Skenderbeg" cognac and the "Tarabos" tobacco. Two courteous saleswomen managed to cope with the unusual crowd. They were not afraid of theft, because that word is foreign to them. There is no theft in Albania!

We went to lunch. The staff of the restaurant, "reinforced" by colleagues from Tirana especially for our visit, served us very quickly. The lunch was beautifully arranged, but it included very little meat. The meat portion was barely about 20 grams, to which soybeans were added to make a better impression. A sudden visit took place during the lunch. One young man took a ring off his hand and sent to his uncle through us, with a request that the latter come to visit him. Some young people asked us to take bottles of cognac to their relatives in Yugoslavia, with requests that the latter send them guarantees so that they could come to Yugoslavia. We accepted every obligation, because it would have been a shame to let down those people. We learned that a few years ago these people were allowed to watch a Yugoslav TV program. They keep track of everything happening in Yugoslavia. Of course, they are young people and they are particularly interested in sports. It is simply unbelievable how well they know our sports situation. They are fanatical fans. "Crvena zvezda" [Red Star] has the most fans in Shkoder, followed by--believe it or not--"Hajduk" in Split?!

Ten Paychecks for a Television

It was very pleasant chatting with them. If we had not seen their old-fashioned clothing and muddy rubber boots, we would have thought that we were talking with some people from one of the Montenegrin villages... Their clothing costs 700 leks, and their pay ranges from 500 to 700 leks. How much this is is demonstrated by the fact that a refrigerator costs 6000 leks, and the price of a television is in approximately the same range. Consequently, in order to buy a refrigerator or a television, they have to give ten months' pay. There are no privately owned automobiles. Some products, like meat or sugar, can only be obtained by "requisition," per member of a household, and the same was true of bread until just a few months ago.

Albania has a high birth rate, the highest in Europe. They are proud of this and see it as being their hope, because the young generation instills optimism.

"We are the country of the future; Albanians are satisfied, because only stable and satisfied people have many children," we heard from Albanians in Shkoder. At an official reception, we heard the following:

"We are aware that we are not economically developed, but we likewise know that we are not in debt to anyone. That is a great thing!"

In response to someone's comment that "Albania is a country of bunkers" and that they could build industry instead of bunkers, the following answer was given:

"The bunkers are built for the defense of our country. And the defense of the country is the great obligation of our people, which will never be an aggressor."

Bridge of Cooperation

We also heard something about--tourism?!--and about the exceptionally beautiful Adriatic coast of Albania. Nevertheless, they did not want to comment on their closed borders and their deliberate neglect of tourism. The continuing influence of Enver Hoxha's regime could be felt. One should not be surprised at this. His wife Nexhmija still keeps everything in her own hands. She holds five of the highest positions, and her children, who were educated in Paris, are also in high positions. Still, the fact that something is nevertheless changing is demonstrated by the fact that since a little while ago Enver Hoxha's family does not have an open account in the Tirana hotels. The "awakening" of the Albanian people was also confirmed by the November Albanian party congress, at which for the first time there was a considerable amount of self-criticism, and words about mistakes and shortcomings. Changes also occurred when the new Central Committee was elected. Instead of the former 15 delegates from the Djiro Kastre district, Enver Hoxha's birthplace, 10 delegates were elected, and there are now eight delegates from the Shkoder district instead of the previous five.

We had much more open conversations with the people, who did not conceal their backwardness, dissatisfaction, hard work, and the restriction of their freedom, although there is less and less of the latter, as the Albanians themselves say. Kosovo was also mentioned.

"What do these people in Kosovo want? Some of them came here. The state gave them a house in the center of Shkoder, but they quickly began to get 'put on airs.' They even asked for an automobile, and so they were very quickly sent away," we were secretly told by our people in Shkoder.

We had to go to the match. In spite of the cloudburst, the stands were filled to the last seat. After the match, a double line of people--and applause--was waiting for us. Our farewell was a moving one. There were also many tears. We left pleasantly surprised by everything that we had experienced in Shkoder. On this occasion as well, soccer was on a "peace mission"; it established a bridge for cooperation between Titograd and Shkoder. A delegation from Titograd headed by President Ratko Ivanovic also spoke with representatives of Shkoder and Albania about several other forms of cooperation.

There were again no problems with Albanian customs at the border. There were with ours. There were 50 bottles of "Skenderbeg" cognac and 30 kilograms of cheese found in one bag. We Yugoslavs are terrible. We cannot get along without smuggling--even when we are coming back from Albania!

9909

CSO: 2800/113

DRAFT BILL ON CONSULTATIONS, REFERENDA DISCUSSED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 31 Mar 87 pp 1,2

[Article by Dariusz Szymczycha: "Amend the Constitution?"]

[Text] At first there was silence. Within half an hour the opinions of the Sejm Advisory Task Force and the Socioeconomic Council were known and then the debate began. That is how, on 30 March, the first meeting of the Extraordinary Commission, which the Sejm appointed to examine the draft law on public consultations and referenda, began.

Although the present text of our constitution provides for public consultation and discussion on state decisions, it does not say a word about a referendum. It is true that such a form of democracy is not in conflict with our political system and was already applied in 1956. Still it appears necessary to supplement the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic with a suitable text referring to a referendum..

The draft amendment is less than half a page of typescript long, but the discussion lasted over an hour.

The object is to insert a mention about a referendum in Art 2 of the Constitution. There were two opinions on how to do this. First, that the already existing text be broken up by added new provisions. The second concept, which was supported by deputies Sylwester Zawadzki and Jerzy Skalski, consisted of adding a new point to the already existing provisions of the Constitution. Thus the changes would be slighter.

The dispute which ensued was interrupted by deputy Jerzy Jaskiernia, who made a practical comment. After all, the Commission which will approach the Sejm on the matter of amending the Constitution, does not have to decide everything immediately. The draft will be sent to various consultative bodies, who will certainly consider it. It is agreed that until then the Commission will accept the first solution. Therefore, tomorrow or the day after, the deputy's draft on a change to the Constitution will reach Łaska Marszałkowska.

Some opinions on the draft law on consultations and referenda are worth mentioning.

Thus, the Sejm Advisory Task Force proposes that public consultations on the law not be held. It was pointing out that the actual interest on the part of the citizenry in public consultations is negligible and they have little faith in its effectiveness. Furthermore, the draft of this regulation is at least 5 years overdue. During this time the practice of consultations was already established and furthermore the requirement of consultations was already recorded in seven other laws. Is it worth passing regulations which in effect will introduce nothing new? The Sejm advisers also used comparisons as part of their argument. In the USSR, GDR and Hungary, public consultations have been held for 20 years on draft laws and in none of those countries was it felt necessary to pass a law on this matter. The position of the Socioeconomic Council was quite similar.

Both the Council and the Sejm were decidedly in favor of introducing the institution of a referendum, or in accordance with Polish language standards, a popular vote. The "fight" about the detailed solutions will begin in the the Extraordinary Commission in a week.

9295

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SUCCESS OF 'PARASITE' LAW QUESTIONED

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 26 Feb 87 p 3

[Article by Adam Pilecki: "Facts or Appearances?"

[Text] It may be said that every person led to civic virtues is something of a victory over matter. Let us immediately add that here we are talking about matter which is extremely resistant and difficult--bluebirds (people who refuse to work). Last year ended a 4-year period in the functioning of a law governing proceedings against persons refusing to work, also called the "parasite" law.

During these 4 years, 221,300 men between the ages of 18 and 45, "falling" under this law, were registered. On 31 December 1986 this list contained not quite 90,000 names. Success, or only the appearance of success? The number recorded is less, but does that mean that our economy gained thousands of workers from among those who did not plow or sow but ate bread?

Examination by the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs shows that during this period 119,300 persons were stricken from the records, of whom 100,000 worked or studied for 6 months. From the list of persons stubbornly refusing to work or study, 3,431 names were deleted, including 2,100 of those who worked or studied for at least a year. These figures would not be at all bad if this information were accompanied by other information saying how many of these persons had made work a lasting way of life.

Regulations governing compulsory work referral were in effect to the end of last year. Workplaces were required to accept persons referred to them by the local employment offices. Except that confirmation by the workplaces that these persons were employed did not mean that they obtained a worker. The bluebirds are cunning. There were 5,500 of those who did not think of pretending that they intend to work elsewhere. Others, of course, reported for work. Most, after a few days or weeks simply disappeared.

And everything started all over again. New referrals, new confirmations. And new quits. The militia, employment offices and the misdemeanor courts had a lot to do. The latter handled almost 70,600 cases of violations of the law governing persons refusing to work.

The social outcasts, mainly alcoholics and drug addicts, do not want to work or are simply no longer able to work. The workplaces, too, do not wish and often are not able to find suitable jobs for them. Many of them really require sheltered jobs and there is a shortage of those for employees who have lost their health. Often there is a sense of relief when "one of those" quits. Even the fact that he did not turn in his tools or work uniform is disregarded.

The truth, therefore, is more optimistic than the statistics. The question is, what will happen now that the state administration is deprived of the source of pressure which the law constituted during the period of recovery from the crisis, by which it was possible to force the workplaces to take these "parasites?" We hear that the Ministry of Justice is working on an amendment to the "parasite" law. What direction this amendment will take--we shall see. But even now, after the present regulations have been in effect 4 years, we know that the solution to the problem lies not in combating its effects, but in eliminating its causes.

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WEEKLY CRITICIZED FOR CLAIMING THREATS TO SELF-MANAGEMENT

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 6 Mar 87 p 5

[Text] (PAP) On 5 March deputies in the Commission for Self-Management Affairs evaluated the journalistic activities of TYGODNIK ROBOTNICZY. It had been established to popularize the idea of self-management and inspire and assist the activities of its representative bodies, including the workers' councils. During the 5-year period of its work, in the opinion of the deputies, the weekly fulfilled its role in an unquestionable manner. Unfortunately, it has recently been observed that it lags behind in relation to actual socioeconomic changes.

In its columns TYGODNIK sometimes publishes oversimplified judgments on the subject of the place of enterprise self-management in the country's overall sociopolitical situation. Based on these opinions, the reader may falsely believe that a threat to their existence continues. Yet these matters have often been clearly defined politically, even in the last few months. As a matter of fact, the enemy of self-management, said deputy Alfred Wawrzyniak (no party affiliation--"PAX" Publishing Institute), will be self-management itself if it is not sufficiently effective.

The workforce self-management, reminded Stanislaw Kania (PZPR), chairman of the commission, has an large role to fulfill in the development of the economy. What is important is that it has already passed this test during the period of recovery from the crisis. Now the economic situation demands that the duties of the NNP self-managements must be completely executed--technical advancement measures, improvement in work organization and production quality--and emphasis must not be limited simply to enforcement of its powers. For these reasons, said deputy Jozef Barecki, head of the PZPR CC Propaganda Department, who was invited to the meeting, TYGODNIK ROBOTNICZY should be more useful. It also has the duty to propagate transformations occurring in the idea of self-management and to draw on the experience of other socialist countries (e.g., from the work of the brigade system as the basic element of self-management). This is one way of steadily increasing the participation of workers in the making of economic decisions.

9295

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DEVELOPMENT OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST AWARENESS

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 2, 25 Jan 86 pp 16-19

[Review by Dumitru Ghise of the book "Ideological and Political-Educational Work As a Powerful Force for Socialist Society's Development" of the series "From the Social-Political Thought of President of Romania Nicolae Ceausescu," Political Publishing House, Bucharest]

[Text] For more than 20 years Romania's great strides in building its fully developed socialist society and its entire internal and external political, economic and social-cultural development have been closely and permanently associated with the work and the name of Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu, who has dedicated his life since early youth to the interests of the working class and the people among whom he was born and to the welfare and prosperity of the nation. All that has been built in the economy, industrial and agricultural growth rates, introduction of technical and scientific progress, development of education and culture, and continuing improvement of democracy, as well as construction of a new humanism and Romania's acquisition of a new and well-merited international prestige, in a word all that is lending a new quality to Romanian society bears the stamp of the party secretary general's thought and action and bears witness to his direct presence in coming events and creative work. His strong personality and the power of his bold and ever inquisitive thinking, perceiving what is new and advanced and always ready to combat all that is old and outmoded and all that reflects inertia, a confused or backward attitude, or persistence in rigid dogmas and ideas, set a new pace for all Romania's activity and lent a new vitality to both theory and practice in their close and inseparable connection. Throughout his theoretical works and in all his scientific management of Romanian society Nicolae Ceausescu sets a shining example of harmonious, effective combination of ideas and deeds, of thought with action, demonstrating beyond all doubt that the true ideas based on experience act as a true light comprising and inspiring the masses, who themselves become a veritable force for social and human progress.

That truth is illustrated in exemplary fashion by the recently published book "Ideological and Political-Educational Work As a Powerful Force for Socialist Society's Development" of the series "From the Social-Political Thought of President of Romania Nicolae Ceausescu," an anthology of the party secretary general's main ideas on the subject copiously disseminated throughout his vast

theoretical works. Organized under three chief headings ("I. Ideological and Political-Educational Work As Part of the Undertaking To Build the Fully Developed Socialist Society," "II. Historical and Dialectical Materialism and Scientific Socialism As the RCP's Revolutionary Views of the World and Society," and "III. Formation and Development of Socialist Awareness As Critical Factors for Construction of the Fully Developed Socialist Society"), and published by the Political Publishing House, the book covers the key ideas of the RCP's conception of formation and development of socialist awareness as well as the theoretical and practical aspects of the party's ideological and political-educational efforts to form a new man capable of accomplishing construction of the fully developed socialist society and the advance toward communism.

The vital importance of this treasury of ideas clearly follows from the well-known fact that socialist construction as an extensive and complex process of revolutionary social reform necessarily requires reform of the individual himself as the real bearer of social existence and the creator of all of humanity's material and cultural values. As Nicolae Ceausescu said in his Speech at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of 1-2 June 1982, "Socialism is the task of the masses, the workers and the people, and it is being built with the people and for the people. Socialism is the purposeful undertaking of the working class, the masses and the people, who are purposefully creating their own history and their own future according to the requirements of social development." In other words, it is people who are creating history, and the revolution as well, and social progress is made and social and individual living conditions are continually improved with them and by them. By changing the reality of their own existence and creating a new destiny for themselves people change themselves. Accordingly history is the field of human activity, and human activities are the directions in which the field of history in its turn is constructed.

Those are the profound reasons why development of the new man, the man of the socialist and communist era, is one of the major aims of the RCP's revolutionary strategy. Every society has expressed itself in history through a certain human ideal or human types more or less conforming to that ideal. Thus the cavalier type created by medieval Europe, that of the versatile man conceived in the crucible of the troubles in the Renaissance, and that of the entrepreneur in the modern period were reflected in the cultural monuments of the various periods in the peoples' history, attracted the attention of communities, and emerged as ideals of thought, action and behavior. Accordingly the question of a human model and changes in man's structure and nature is not a Utopian socialist invention as many contemporary bourgeois ideologists try to present it, and it comes up particularly in connection with the socialist revolution and the process of socialist and communist construction because of the radical changes that process makes in the way of life and work. These changes are not only a historical necessity in the abstract sense of the word but also a matter of actual revolutionary practice. Historical experience tells us that as the objective socioeconomic structure of the new order is built, the solutions of the problems, the course of events, and application of the considerable potentials of socialism depend more and more upon people, the set of values that guides them, their competence and skills, and their ability to understand, direct and channel the action of the social laws. Therefore in the RCP's view the superiority of socialism is reflected not only in a high degree of economic effectiveness but also,

and in close connection with it, in a new kind of humanity, that is in promotion of a new set of values, new standards and norms of behavior, and new ideals of social action. That effort is essential to any process envisaging the transformation of human society into what Marx called "socialized humanity."

The inseparable tie between history and historical construction and between man and human construction can never have been more apparent and has never been more striking in man's millenary history than it is in the days of socialist revolution and purposeful construction of a new world based on social equity and justice and on respect for human dignity and freedom. Accordingly the transition from the rule of necessity to that of liberty, to use Engels' well-known expression, is the real process itself of clarifying people as to their own condition and the social structure wherein the personality finds the resources for the most radical changes and for the most real and spectacular possibilities for its development. As the party secretary general wrote, "The RCP proceeds from the idea that socialism is to be the society of total fulfillment of the personality wherein every citizen will feel master of his fate and able to think and act without restriction on behalf of social progress."

This introduction of individual thought and action into social activity, this integration of people in history, and this constant dialectical interaction between the objective and subjective, between the spontaneous and the purposeful, and between necessity and freedom which, in its variegated entirety, is the heart of the historical process that is going on, set party ideological and political-educational work very far-reaching and profound tasks and require a clear and complete understanding of the whole series of problems involved in the relationship between man and history, society and nature.

In opposition to the one-sided, mechanistic and fatalistic interpretation of the relationship between existence and awareness, to the effect that awareness inevitably lags behind the development of existence, Nicolae Ceausescu said at the Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of 3-5 November 1971 that "Attempts are often made to explain the shortcomings in our ideological, political and cultural-educational work and the negative developments that appear in society and some people's behavior on the theory that awareness lags behind material development. To accept such explanations of our shortcomings is to encourage a passive, defeatist attitude with profoundly bad effects upon social development. We communists do not study the objective social laws in order to take a fatalistic stand on them but in order to work for social progress by understanding their direction. So far from denying the essential role of the production forces in social development, we proceed from the principle, also Marxist, that awareness can in its turn have a powerful effect upon social progress and that when they win over the masses advanced ideas become a vast material force for progress."

The vital importance of ideological and political-educational work to formation of the new man follows from this basic stand because, as the party secretary general keeps saying, that work is a permanent task of the entire party, and Romania's communist future itself depends upon its success.

But what does forming a new man mean? Bourgeois ideologists are trying their best to prove that there can be no new man as long as he remains biologically, morphologically and somatically the same. Actually, while man remains relatively unchanged biologically, it must not be forgotten that what distinguishes man

from the animal kingdom and what makes his existence distinctive is his awareness, which appeared in a certain stage of the development of living matter and in the course of his social activity. As Marx said, man is the product of the sum of social relations. The new man is only man endowed with a new and advanced awareness. Nicolae Ceausescu said, "In our view the new man as the builder of socialism and communism must master the greatest advances of science and human knowledge and must be characterized by high political and moral qualities, by enthusiasm for creative work, by bold thought, action and promotion of the new in all social activity, by constancy in the struggle for truth, justice and the principles of socialist equity and ethics, and by determination to fight with dedication and courage in defense of the nation's sovereignty, integrity and revolutionary gains and the cause of communism in Romania."

This definition, which is as accurate as it is comprehensive, makes it clear that one of the qualities that must characterize the new man is unquestionably a clear, deeply and permanently inculcated awareness of the fact that he has become involved and is entirely responsible for all that he does, and that the material and moral values of the world he is building do not come about spontaneously but through his own work and creative activity. After millennia of exploitation, frustration and alienation born of the feeling that nothing of all a man did belonged to him, the socialist revolution with its elimination of exploitation created the objective conditions for development and progress of human dignity and personality. That dignity cannot be imagined or fully acquired without clearing the awareness of all the ballast and destructive effects that the condition of the exploited man brought with it. Freed of all those flaws, the new kind of man must acquire the new and clear awareness of the fact that he is coowner of all of society's material and cultural wealth and that in that capacity, of which he used to be defrauded, the way he manages and increases his wealth depends upon himself. Man is no longer a mere passive beneficiary of culture and civilization or of an abstract policy apart from him and somewhere above him, but primarily an active militant and direct participant in the creation of new values and ipso facto their supreme beneficiary. This way of social existence, participation in the creative act and observance of the material and moral values is unquestionably a characteristic that distinguishes the participative democracy of socialist society and implements it in a new way.

In the RCP's view the formation of this man is a vast, far-reaching and lengthy undertaking and a process involving a multitude of factors, namely the family, the schools, the macro- and microsocial environment, the social organizations to which the individual belongs, the network of various cultural and mass-media institutions, etc. Accordingly culture (in its broad sense including science as well as other creative activities) must play a major role in forming and shaping socialist awareness. By virtue of their form and content, science, art and culture along with the other economic and political factors are themselves becoming real influencers and shapers of socialist awareness, since they reflect the revolutionary reforms going on in society, the troubles and concerns confronting the builders of the new society, and the aspirations of the people who are experiencing and accomplishing this revolutionary process themselves.

The party regards the very way the workers contribute effectively to the Romanian socialist nation's general, socioeconomic and cultural progress as the criterion for judging the effectiveness of ideological and political-educational work.

Nicolae Ceausescu said on this subject that political-ideological work should aim for formation of the new and progressive man who can "always act as a revolutionary under any circumstances, always put the general interest first, and be ready at any time to lay down his life for the cause of the party, socialism and communism and for the freedom and independence of Romania and its people."

Then what would be some of the major aims of party ideological and political-educational work making an authentic strategy for forming the new man?

In the first place, indoctrination of every member of society with a scientific, historical and dialectical-materialist philosophical conception of the world and society was and is the core of this work, as all the documents as well as the RCP's experience attest. Nicolae Ceausescu said, "All ideological work is to be based upon historical and dialectical materialism, scientific socialism and the RCP Program, our fundamental ideological, theoretical and political charter and the expression of creative Marxism-Leninism in Romania. Let us make the Romanian revolutionary theory a living torch to keep lighting the activity of the party, the communists and the entire people in their vast undertaking to build communist society."

It is only knowledge of the objective laws governing the processes of nature and society that enables man to free himself from the cobwebs of idealist, mystical and obscurantist ideas and alleged transcendental forces that have dominated his thought and paralyzed his action for centuries on end, to win his true autonomy and freedom in that way, and to make reforms based on knowledge of the most general laws for purposes of social development and progress and subduing and humanizing nature itself.

Of course knowledge of those general laws is necessary, but it is not enough. It must be supplemented by the ability to apply them creatively to each people's economic, historical and national facts.

Opposed to any dogmatic canonization or ossification of thought, the RCP and its secretary general have the great merit of having restored dialectical philosophical reflection upon the general and particular to their natural and legitimate rights. By appealing on every occasion to bold investigation of experience and by proceeding from examination of the particular in order to find in it what is general and not the reverse, Nicolae Ceausescu restored to Romanian historical and dialectical-materialist philosophy its creative power, vitality and ability to serve as a flexible and penetrating method.

Accordingly the revolutionary view of the world, mastered in its dialectical essence, is becoming the most valuable organ of the awareness for perceiving, understanding and explaining natural and social reality, as well as a means of converting it to the category of praxis.

Since man's ontological status cannot be understood, explained or changed outside of work, the party's whole political, ideological and educational effort is intended to determine a new conception of work, freed of all restrictions and flaws of alienation due to the conditions of private ownership and exploitation. As Nicolae Ceausescu has repeatedly said, we "are molding man for work and through work. Therefore we must take all measures to prevent anyone from living without a job or an activity useful to the community."

The party's ideological and political-educational effort to form the new man is accordingly focused on the idea that once private ownership and exploitation are eliminated, man's conversion to owner, producer and beneficiary of all of society's wealth makes him directly involved and entirely responsible for all that he does. This establishes the fact that the material and cultural values of the world he is building are the fruits of his own labor and creative work, while in those newly created values the man of Romanian society sees his own image reflected, and his new moral and intellectual nature. In pointing out one of the major aims of political-educational work Nicolae Ceausescu said, "Let us indoctrinate all citizens and especially youth in the cult of work, free work released from exploitation and, in Romanian society, the sole source of the progress and prosperity of the Romanian people and the Romanian socialist nation, as well as the chief means of developing all citizens' talents and creative powers and of expressing each one's personality and moral self-improvement."

Moreover socialist awareness is out of the question unless it incorporates the new principles and standards and a morality in keeping with the new social relations instituted in the course of socialist construction. It is not by chance that the RCP has been and is consistently concerned with defining and promoting those principles and standards of socialist ethics and justice and of communist living that can restructure the morality of Romanian society as a whole and the existence of each of its members. The code of the communists' standards of life and work and those of socialist ethics and justice comprises the moral values that every communist and every worker must strive for. It is only in a new morality, reflecting the human condition radically changed by the socialist revolution and the condition of man freed from exploitation, master of his own fate and the demiurge of his history, that revolutionary awareness can be truly embodied, as the principles become facts. Accordingly the RCP's effort is not confined to popularizing the principles and standards of socialist ethics and justice but is aimed at integration of those moral values in society. The party secretary general said, "We are specially emphasizing promotion of the principles of socialist ethics and justice... While concerning ourselves with development of the material base, improved social management, and development of socialist democracy, we must try to consistently promote the communist principles of working and living. We shall make every effort to make those principles the guide of all workers and every citizen in Romania."

Moreover the formation and development of socialist awareness is inconceivable without including in it the most important findings of human knowledge and the ideas that constitute the most precious endowment in the field of science and culture. Incorporation, in social and individual awareness, of all that is more valuable that the human mind has discovered by investigating nature and society and through knowledge of the experience and cultural and civilized values acquired by other peoples, and cultivation of respect for and a feeling of solidarity with all that is more advanced in the world, an interest in other nations' experience, and the conviction that all nations of the world, whether large or small, are making and can make a particular original contribution to development of the world's cultural heritage give the man armed with a new awareness the higher traits of socialist humanism. The party secretary general said, "We must not for a moment forget that if we are to carry out the RCP Program we must base all socioeconomic activity on the latest scientific and technical advances and human knowledge in general. That is why the role of science, education,

culture, and the whole political-educational effort to form the new man as a purposeful builder of communism and his own future is even more important in the new stage of national development."

It is only this comprehensive cultivation of thought that permits aesthetic education of the masses and their sensitivity and formation of their capacity to perceive the beautiful and incorporate it, critically and with discrimination, in their daily existence and to make a complete connection between the good and the beautiful and between the ethical and the aesthetic.

On the basis of the fundamental idea that the revolutionary process will never end because we must always work for improvement of our activity, higher socioeconomic development, and development of revolutionary socialist patriotism, love of country, responsibility and dedication to the people and their revolutionary gains, and determination to fight and work for socialist and communist construction, for the people's greater material and cultural benefit, and for the socialist nation's sovereignty and independence, Nicolae Ceausescu keeps pointing out, as a corollary of the whole ideological and political-educational effort to form the new man, the need to keep developing the revolutionary spirit and the resolve to fight for promotion of the new in all activities, for unflinching implementation of the RCP Program, and for progress to ever higher peaks of socialist and communist civilization. Nicolae Ceausescu says, "We are revolutionaries and must remain revolutionaries at all times if we wish to remain communists." As Nicolae Ceausescu said, if we are to build a society wherein the entire people purposefully participate in writing their own history and future and create conditions for real, and not fictitious, participation in social management, we must "form people with a high political awareness who can understand all problems arising in national and international socioeconomic development and can help to find the ways of securing Romanian society's progress and to formulate an appropriate general policy allowing for the constantly changing conditions." The tie between socialism and democracy is inseparable, and the party's ideological and political-educational work is an essential means of permanently connecting the two basic conditions of society.

To be sure we have far from exhausted the problems of forming the masses' new socialist awareness, as it is formulated in Nicolae Ceausescu's so extensive theoretical works, by outlining these few major aims of the party's ideological and political-educational work. But it follows even from the foregoing that communist construction, in its essential points, is identified with the very formation of a new man armed with a revolutionary awareness. The appearance of contradictions or even errors is not excluded from this lengthy, complicated and contradictory historical process, with its inherent flexible, nuanced, variegated and multicolored dialectics. Upon examining their own activity critically and self-critically, the RCP and its secretary general have revealed many more or less serious shortcomings and errors that have occurred in this vast social and individual and material and cultural construction. Even today there are major or minor discrepancies between reality and the ideal and between what is and what should be. People have not become "pure" overnight, and the human in them makes them always perfectible. If perfection were to be achieved at any time, surely not until then would the problem of man's "twilight" become pressing. Educational methods as well as the material living conditions are always perfectible too. Formation of the new man still has a long and asymptotic way to go in order to meet more and more of the standards of the ideal. But being armed

with a clear and comprehensive theory, as the one developed in the secretary general's works is, the RCP has an invaluable methodological instrument capable of illuminating Romania's whole effort toward revolutionary reform of society along with man himself and making it increasingly effective.

In trying to sketch the place and role of the ideological and political-educational effort to form the new man in the RCP's strategy, I have actually outlined an essential contribution that the party secretary general is making to development of the revolutionary theory and the views on building the new world. In this way we accord a warm homage, on his birthday, to the one who throughout a half century of revolutionary activity has dedicated his entire energy to the service of man and his dignity and inestimable value.

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CEAUSESCU'S 'ORIGINAL' VIEWS ON BUILDING SOCIALISM

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 2, 25 Jan 87 pp 25-29

[Article by Univ Prof Dr Ion Rebedeu: "A Bold, Original View of Socialist Construction with and for the People"]

[Text] Nicolae Ceausescu said, "We can achieve socialism only with the people, we are building it for the people, and therefore the people are the ones to decide how best to accomplish it."

The RCP's new and creative treatment and solution of the complicated problems of socialist construction in the historic period inaugurated by the Ninth Party Congress, and the original social-political formation of socialism through appropriate and courageous restoration and wide-scale development of the values of patriotism, democratism and revolutionary humanism, have been eloquently expressed in the conception that socialism is accomplished with and for the people, as it is scientifically, profoundly and comprehensively formulated in Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu's works. This succinct but extremely eloquent and comprehensive formulation, which is clearly based upon an original view of the social-political nature, characteristic values and motive forces of socialist society, brings out the key factors that lend vitality and viability to socialism and secure its superiority over capitalism, namely the fact that the new order is the purposeful work of the people, who under party leadership are creating their own future in complete freedom and in a climate of equality, equity and social and national justice, and the fact that all the economic, social, political and cultural-intellectual reforms involved in socialist construction and the RCP Program are intended and will be intended consistently to serve the interests and aspirations of the people, to improve their material and cultural welfare, and to create increasingly favorable conditions for full development of the personality and for widespread application of the workers' creative abilities and potentials.

Socialist Democracy and Revolutionary Humanism

The RCP's liberal view of complete correlation of socialism with the people and of the party with society is entirely due to the innovating spirit inaugurated by the Ninth Party Congress. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out on this subject,

"By eliminating dogmas and stereotypes of any kind and regarding socialism as an active political force, the RCP unleashed the energies of the Romanian people and helped to assert the power and prestige of socialism throughout the world." By boldly restoring, despite dogmatism and the simplistic approach, the true significance and broader meanings of the theories of the founders of scientific socialism about humanism and democracy, by applying the Romanian people's age-old traditions of work and struggle and their national values, formed through a long-term labor, with wisdom, an outstanding historical feeling, and an eminently new viewpoint in the light of the aims and ideals of the new society, by displaying an impressive theoretical and political feeling for the major changes in Romania's social and class structure and in the masses' level of awareness and commitment, as well as a dialectical spirit in treating the factors for historical progress and in analyzing and predicting the ways and mechanisms of Romania's socialist evolution, and by promoting consistently and with revolutionary enthusiasm the idea that the new society concentrates its efforts on the individual regarded, for the first time and in an effective and practical way, as the supreme purpose and value, Nicolae Ceausescu formulated not only an innovating conception of the relationship between the objective and subjective, material and cultural, and economic and political factors in socialist and communist construction in Romania, but also the correlation between socialism and the people, between the new order and the nation, between the party and the working masses, and between the state and the people. This highly patriotic and humanistic dialectical conception reflects the party secretary general's boundless confidence in the masses of workers, in all the sons of this ancestral Romanian land, in their great capacity for creative work and in their dedication to the cause of socialism and national prosperity, independence and sovereignty. It also reflects Nicolae Ceausescu's effort, which has become a constant of his activity at the head of the party and state, to create the right conditions for extensive development of workers revolutionary democracy and of management of society and all socioeconomic activities by the people, and it reflects his constant concern and consistent practical efforts so that all economic development and scientific and cultural progress will help to improve the Romanian people's quality of life and serve the material and cultural welfare and prosperity of all the workers. Nicolae Ceausescu says, "All that we are creating in Romania is for general national development and further improvement of the people's material and cultural welfare as the supreme goal of party policy and the essence of the fully developed socialist society that we are building successfully in Romania."

Nicolae Ceausescu's innovative interpretation and solution of the many problems presented by the start of a new stage of the RCP Program are based on the profoundly dialectical idea that the kind of work and organization of society and all the sectors change in conformity with the great progress of Romanian society and the activity of the state, the party and the other organisms of Romanian society is further developed and improved. On that basis the party secretary general formulated the vitally important principle that the changes characterizing Romanian socialist society now and in the future reveal the more intensive development of the role of the masses and the people in managing and implementing the task of socialist and communist construction. Accordingly, in his view the increasingly pronounced development of the masses' role in building the new order is in the nature of an objective law and requirement, and it is the real social basis of the principle that socialism is built with the people, by the people and for the people. Therefore it is the historical mission of the party as

the leading political force of society to plan and implement the structure for mass participation in the historical process and in social management and to provide for the increasingly efficient operation of that structure on the economic, social and human levels, a mission that the RCP has performed brilliantly, especially in the years since the Ninth Party Congress, through Nicolae Ceausescu's telling contribution of his wise and far-sighted strategy for Romania's socialist development.

The people's truly democratic and humanistic status, from a new viewpoint, as purposeful builders of socialism and beneficiaries of all the results of the nation's socialist development is closely correlated in the party secretary general's works with the courageous recovery, despite the dogmatic distortions and oversimplifications, of the rich treasury of the Romanian people's progressive, democratic and revolutionary traditions and values, and with creative determination of the nation's role under socialism as an essential factor for socioeconomic progress and of the importance of patriotism and national dignity and pride in formation and development of the new man with an advanced revolutionary awareness. Nicolae Ceausescu points out, "Restoring and developing the socialist nation's role as a regular factor in building the new social order are among the RCP's greatest achievements."

From this viewpoint, which is the only really appropriate and factual one, socialist construction qualifies as a qualitatively higher stage in the Romanian people's uniform history and in their age-old struggle for social and national justice, and it is accepted by the entire people as their own cause and their vital patriotic duty. It is accordingly clear that some of the most important traditions, aims and conclusions in the Romanian people's troubled but brilliant history significantly permeate the very substance of the principle of socialist construction with the people, by the people and for the people. The identity of the advanced national values and the values of socialism not only greatly facilitates people's acceptance of the principles and ideals of the new order and establishes patriotism as the foundation of socialist civic education and a major motive force for revolutionary reforms, but it also forms the theoretical and practical basis of the idea that socialism is built with the people and for the people.

This conclusion is more relevant when we consider the highly important fact that in the period inaugurated by the Ninth Party Congress there was a creative application of the general truths and principles of socialism in the light of both the national characteristics (economic, political, social, cultural etc.) and the nature of the Romanian people, their way of life, and the historically constituted human values that distinguish it as a moral-cultural and behavioral characteristic. Through an original theoretical formulation, the party secretary general also restored the question of the correlation between socialism and the national interests and that between the party and national interests. Nicolae Ceausescu says, "As Romanian communists, we are determined defenders of the Romanian people's national interests, we spare nothing to secure socialist construction in Romania and, at the same time, we do all we can to strengthen the positions of communism in the world." This highly patriotic view is reflected in the principles, in the nature of political conclusions, that under no circumstances can any people's national interests be neglected in the course of the revolutionary process or in socialist and communist construction, nor can any people be asked to give up their freedom, independence or socioeconomic development in the name of "higher interests."

Charged with many important theoretical and practical-political meanings, the view that socialism is built with the people and for the people indicates that increasingly broad, revolutionary and purposeful involvement of the masses in all activities, in national socioeconomic progress and in widespread promotion of the socialist set of values is an objective requirement and a sine qua non for building the new society. Hence also the party's and state's persevering and increasingly diversified and effective effort to mobilize all workers regardless of nationality and the entire people to carry out the RCP Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society and for Romania's Advance Toward Communism.

Dialectical Correlation of Socialism with the People

The people emerge in the course of socialist construction primarily and increasingly as the historical subject. In that capacity they will participate not only in the programs for socioeconomic development but also in social management and in making all economic, political and social decisions that ultimately concern their future. As Nicolae Ceausescu said about it in his address to the Third Workers Congress, "We are building socialism with the people and for the people! That means that the people are the decisive factor for all that we are accomplishing in Romania and that they are building communism, their golden future, freely and independently by acting purposefully in conformity with the general requirements for development."

As an example of Nicolae Ceausescu's conception of the fully developed socialist society, the principle of building the new order with the people and for the people is actually embodied in the new social-political relations and realities in Romania, and it also serves as an important factor for further shaping those relations and realities in the direction of broader socialist democracy and strengthened unity and cohesion of Romanian society around the party as the leading political force.

Some of the party secretary general's theoretical formulations are outstanding for their exceptional value in this respect, having major implications for the development of the Romanian political system and bringing out the important changes in viewpoints required by the dialectical correlation of socialism with the people and upon which it is based during construction of the new social order.

With the courage, creative spirit and political wisdom that characterizes his revolutionary thought and action, Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that socialist construction with the people and for the people calls for a new viewpoint on the functions and ways of exercising party leadership, on the nature and operation of the socialist state, and on the mission of the mass and public organizations, as well as fearless and obligatory repudiation of simplistic and inappropriate interpretations of the roles of the party and socialist state. To this end it was eloquently demonstrated that while the fully developed socialist society is being built, socialist democracy is being widely expanded, and the people's socialist unity and cohesion is being emphatically asserted, the RCP can no longer be regarded as an "avantgarde" of society or the nation ("Avantgarde" actually implies outdistancing and not increasingly close rapprochement or unity), that it is quite wrong to call the socialist state a dictatorship of the proletariat under Romania's new socioeconomic conditions, and that it would be a grave error

to reduce the activities of the mass and public organizations to the role of a "driving belt" between the party and the masses of workers.

The anachronistic and outmoded ideas and opinions (and accordingly the political practices associated with them) about the interpretation of the nature and operation of the socialist political system are consistently outdistanced in a creative way in Nicolae Ceausescu's works by formulating new theories and conclusions. For example the conception of the party as the vital center of the nation and all society was formulated in that way, as well as that of exercise of party leadership not from outside and not by administrative measures but from within the economic and social state bodies; that of the party's increasingly close integration in society (which, however, does not mean "dissolution" in society) and that of increasingly extensive coordination of party, state and public activities (which has nothing in common with the "statizing" that the disparagers of socialism talk about) as major aims of advancement and development of the party's role as the leading political force of society; that of the party as a mass party that naturally preserves and develops its character as an advanced revolutionary detachment of the working class, the workers and the Romanian socialist nation, and that of strengthening the tie with the masses and the people as essential to party management of socialist and communist construction. The same is true of the opinions on the status of party members in society (They do not have more rights but more duties), as well as the principle that to be a communist means to be a patriot, since communists place the people's interests above any national interests. This view is very relevant to the new light in which the party-society and party-masses relationships are treated, to the original ways in which the people are called upon to play an increasingly active part as purposeful builders of their own future, and to the correct interpretation of the party's role in fully implementing the highly noble human principle that socialism is built with and for the people.

On the basis of the idea that "We are building socialism with people and for people" and that "Socialism can only be the united effort of all workers of all nationalities and the entire people," President Nicolae Ceausescu's works specified in depth the ways and directions of further consolidation of the people's socialist unity and all workers' solidarity and brotherhood, which are essential to assertion of the people as the deciding factor for socioeconomic development and socialist and communist construction. In this light, the minorities problem was solved in Romania in a consistently democratic way on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles, all citizens were guaranteed equal rights with no discrimination of any kind, the production forces were evenly distributed throughout the country in the last 20 years, and special emphasis was placed on the patriotic education of all the nation's sons and on opposition to any nationalist, chauvinist or other such trends, all of which is making the Romanian people's socialist and moral-political unity an important motive force for the nation's socialist development.

In President Nicolae Ceausescu's view socialist construction with and for the people requires not only promotion and development of the humanist and patriotic values on the principles of the new society, as well as strong cohesion of the nation and brotherhood and solidarity among all workers regardless of nationality, but also implementation and continuing consolidation of the unshakable unity of the party with the people, a historically authentic unity based on the fact that in its entire policy the RCP faithfully reflects the people's vital

interests and aspirations, in view of the requirements of the objective laws and the Romanian national traditions and realities, and it acts as the vital center of society and the self-awareness of the Romanian socialist nation. The party secretary general says, "Communists have and can have no nobler goals than to make every effort to carry out the RCP Program and domestic and foreign policy without fail and to serve the interests of the people, the nation, and socialism and communism under any circumstances."

The Party and the People with a Single Will

The concept of socialist construction with and for the people and accordingly the new and democratic way in which party leadership in Romanian society is conceived and exercised are strikingly reflected by the institution, in the years since the Ninth Party Congress at Nicolae Ceausescu's suggestion, of the regular dialogue between the party and the people and the various forms of regular, direct and frank discussion with the masses of workers of the questions of Romania's present and future, the programs for national socioeconomic development, and the party's and state's domestic and foreign policies. Nicolae Ceausescu's statement, "The party will be strong and will perform its role only together with the masses and the entire people," succinctly but very eloquently expresses his view of the party-people correlation and the role of the masses in national socioeconomic development and social management, the view on which the profoundly democratic nature of party leadership is based and accordingly the broad and real democratism of Romanian social organization and management in all fields. This democratic, original and also very stimulating and productive approach to political management of society has taken an exemplary form in the party secretary general's periodic working visits to all counties of Romania and in the discussions on the spot with workers, peasants, intellectuals and responsible elements in the economic and social units concerning the stage of attainment of the goals set by the party and new aspects of the activity of the various collectives and categories of workers and the entire people.

The party secretary general believes that socialist construction with the people, for the people and by the people necessarily requires a higher type of democracy, namely workers revolutionary democracy capable of fully invigorating the values and principles of socialist democracy and revolutionary humanism, instituting new relations between society and the state and between the individual and the state, humanizing and personalizing social relations, and securing direct participation of the masses of workers in social and state management and in discussion and solution of public problems.

The real and effective guarantee of the great rights and freedoms that the new society is inaugurating in its history is the chief requirement for unleashing the people's creative powers and actively involving the masses of workers in revolutionary reform of society and the individual. Those rights and freedoms act as motive forces for the individual's social advancement, human dignity and solidarity, national resurgence and a new quality of life and accordingly create productive and encouraging conditions for the masses' free and active participation in historical creativity. In mentioning that equality and freedom are interpreted in a new way in Romanian society (All citizens have the same rights but also the same obligations to their country and people) Nicolae Ceausescu said, "It is only in a society fully and permanently freed of inequality and oppression that there can be any real guarantee of the basic human rights, and

especially the right to work and equal pay, or any real democracy wherein all citizens with no discrimination whatever, men, women, young and old, directly participate in economic and social management and in purposeful construction of their own free, prosperous and happy future."

The set of values of socialist democracy are to be fully implemented in all social activities but especially in that of the socialist state as one of the main components of the political system with extensive and direct implications for social management and people's lives. This requires further democratization of the organization and functions of the state and of its relations with the citizen and social groups as well. In the RCP's view, brilliantly formulated in the Report to the 13th RCP Congress, the socialist state's role in uniform management of all economic and social activity on the basis of the Unified National Plan is objectively greater in the present stage. In keeping with the great structural changes made in all fields in the years of socialism and with the innovative view promoted by the RCP since the Ninth Party Congress, the Romanian socialist state has acquired a new content as a state of workers revolutionary democracy that reflects and promotes the entire people's interests and aspirations.

Socialist construction with and for the people is not and cannot be any general or abstract slogan. It involves the functions of the whole political system of Romanian socialist society and especially those of the socialist state, so that the people cease to be a mere object in reference to the state, as in capitalist society, and become the historical subject, since the socialist state serves the people's interests and aspirations in all its activity and in all its functions.

Consistent reflection and promotion of the working masses' aspirations, strict observance of the democratic standards and freedoms in relations with the citizens, outstanding receptiveness to workers' problems, the various controls exercised by the masses over the state organs' activities, close and regular contact with the people, and determined elimination of any instances of bureaucracy or red tape, all those are keystones of the activity of the workers revolutionary democratic state whereby the new society is being built by the people and for the people as a relevant expression of its sovereignty. As Nicolae Ceausescu accordingly pointed out, it is quite natural for all the state organs to be under the regular control and guidance of the masses because the people are the real builders of socialism.

Development of Workers Revolutionary Democracy

The new view of the relationship between socialist construction and the increasingly intensive promotion of the people's role in purposeful construction, under party leadership, of their own future is most significantly reflected in provision for the working masses' direct participation in social management by institutionalizing an extensive and original system of democratic bodies in the years since the Ninth Party Congress, from the workers councils and general assemblies to the national congresses and councils for activities. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "Development of workers revolutionary democracy is the vital factor for successful socialist construction and for building communist society not in the anarchic sense but in that of the people's active and organized participation in management of all activities."

The truly impressive proportions of the framework and coordinates within which socialism is being built with and for the people in Romania are indicated by the truly complete and comprehensive system of workers revolutionary democracy constructed on Nicolae Ceausescu's initiative, which includes the party as the leading political force, the socialist state, the new democratic bodies, the mass and public organizations (which have become active, enterprising factors in the Romanian political system), and the socialist democracy and unity organizations (as mass patriotic-revolutionary organizations including nonmembers of the party), all of which are united under party leadership in the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, a widely representative body reflecting the unity and solidarity of Romanian society. By means of all its components as well as the values that lend it a particular political character, the system of workers revolutionary democracy secures the people's effective participation in social management and in discussing and determining the programs for national socioeconomic development and the party's and state's domestic and foreign policies.

More and more intensive promotion of workers revolutionary democracy and better and better conditions for the workers' knowledgeable participation in social management with a high sense of patriotic responsibility are among the main thrusts of Nicolae Ceausescu's works. In his characteristically profound dialectical spirit he points out that we must not "worship dogmas and models" or view the new democratic structure statically, but develop it and regularly improve its performance and its economic, political, social and human effectiveness. In pointing out that the Romanian socialist democratic system, which reflects the entire nation's will and interests and secures socialist construction with and for the people, is asserting its strength and durability and its superiority over bourgeois democracy or any other system more and more emphatically, the party secretary general keeps emphasizing the objective requirement to work with all determination to improve and develop the socialist democratic system as an objective requirement for successful socialist and communist construction.

It is theoretically and practically significant that the treatment of all problems of improved socioeconomic organization and management in the light of the tasks of the current five-year plan is characterized by increasingly consistent promotion of the values and principles of socialist democracy. Dialectical analysis of the very evolution of the party and its constant change as the masses and the entire nation rally around it led to Nicolae Ceausescu's formulation of a vital principle, to the effect that "The way to disappearance of the party and the state (speaking quite theoretically of course) is to work not for introduction of anarchic ways of life and management but for new ways for the masses and the people to participate in all management activity."

As eloquently attested by Nicolae Ceausescu's speeches at the Third Workers Congress, at the Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in December 1986, and at the recent plenums of the forums of workers revolutionary democracy, the RCP is making a regular and persevering effort to make full use of the great potentials of the democratic structure and values instituted in the years since the Ninth Party Congress, to heighten the responsibility and competence of the democratic bodies and especially the workers councils and general assemblies in the performance of their broad functions, to further democratize state activity, and to strengthen workers control in all activities.

The party secretary general believes that socialist construction with and for the people demands of all managers in Romanian society, all party, state, democratic and public bodies, and all personnel in responsible jobs in any activity the vital requirement to place the people's general interests above all in their entire activity, to be sensitive and receptive to the workers' problems, needs and aspirations, and to block any attempt or tendency to satisfy any narrow, selfish private interests at the expense and to the detriment of the working masses' efforts.

The planned principle of socialist construction with and for the people acquires a particular axiological bearing from consistent implementation of the standards and principles of socialist ethics and justice. The new order is a society of free labor, entailing every citizen's right and duty to work, to participate actively and directly in national development, and to benefit by the results of socioeconomic progress in proportion to the quantity, quality and importance of the activity performed. The people's unity is constantly and significantly reinforced by basing economic and social relations on the new values of socialist ethics and justice, by promoting the socialist principles in all fields, and by firmly opposing any social injustices, inequalities and inequities, which are foreign to socialism and can impair solidarity in some area of Romanian society. Nicolae Ceausescu says, "We must always proceed from the principle that in socialism no one can live without working, at the expense of another's work. Every citizen has a duty of honor to perform a useful activity in keeping with his training and society's requirements. Socialism and communism reflect the free labor of all workers."

Nicolae Ceausescu's views on building the new order with and for the people, as a basic requirement for consistent implementation of the noble principles and values of socialism, are outstanding for their far-reaching and comprehensive character and accordingly for their quite distinct emphasis on enabling the people, under the leadership of the party as the vital center of society, to act effectively and to an increasing extent as the real demiurge of social development, the creative historical subject, and the purposeful builders of their future. Construction of the socialist state as a state of workers revolutionary democracy, radical reorganization of economic and social relations on a socialist basis, the RCP's extensive presence as the leading political force of society, the process of social leveling, and a broad and diversified institutional structure for the working masses' participation in social management -- all those are basic requirements and also essential factors for socialist construction with and for the people, the extensive effect of the socialist nation as the fundamental force for progress, and the advancement of the people's telling role in the nation's communist development. But as the party secretary general's works clearly indicate, effective use of the foregoing conditions and factors, among many others, depends upon the masses' level of revolutionary awareness.

The Masses' Revolutionary Awareness Vital to Construction of the New Order

From this viewpoint the RCP has been giving first priority, in the last 20 years especially, to formation and development of all citizens' socialist awareness, to arming the workers with the scientific, revolutionary conception of the world, life and society, with the values of patriotism and the new humanism, and with the principles of socialist ethics and justice, to constant development of their occupational and political-ideological competence, to regular expansion of the

horizons of knowledge and culture, and to indoctrination of the entire people in the revolutionary communist spirit. As Nicolae Ceausescu says about this, "It is only a people with a high awareness, a high culture and a high level of comprehension of the realities and with a revolutionary dialectical-materialist conception of the world and life who will be able to properly perform their mission of securing their welfare and further progress and of permanently preserving their independence and sovereignty."

Thanks to the bold and creative thinking of Nicolae Ceausescu, Romanian society now has a comprehensive and inspiring RCP Ideological Program approved by the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in June 1982 and ratified by the 13th RCP Congress as an integral part of the RCP Program, which will bring the Romanian people's socialist awareness up to a qualitatively higher level with major implications for their creative, revolutionary commitment and performance in the whole process of building the fully developed socialist society and advancing toward communism.

In its very content the principle of socialist construction with the people directly refers to the objective necessity of regularly raising the workers' levels of competence, awareness and responsibility by the right educational strategies as a sine qua non and a vital factor for the entire people's mobilization for and knowledgeable participation in socialist and communist construction. In this sense development of socialist awareness means increasingly intensive action of the workers' awareness as owners, producers and beneficiaries of all the national wealth, which requires every citizen's thorough understanding of the inherent correlations between rights and duties, participation and competence, and freedom and responsibility. As Nicolae Ceausescu said at the close of the proceedings of the Third Workers Congress, "Now we need a new kind of revolution with high knowledge in all fields, professional, technical, scientific and cultural and in interpreting the laws of nature and social development. Only with such revolutionaries shall we be able to secure the progress and implementation of the new aims of the revolution!"

In the party secretary general's view, socialist construction with and for the people is no automatic reflection of social development but requires a constant and persevering effort of the political element, and especially of the party as the leading political force, toward a purposeful and highly competent involvement of all workers in accomplishing the aims of national socioeconomic development, toward more and more extensive and effective use of the democratic structure for participation in social management, toward further consolidation of the inseparable ties between the party and the people and between the state and the masses of workers, toward formulation of the nation's domestic and foreign policies through an extensive dialogue with the nation and through democratic public discussion of all questions concerning the present and future of the nation, toward all citizens' greater responsibility for the people's general interests and future, toward regular development of collaboration between the state organs and the new socialist democratic bodies, and toward the entire people's access, on the basis of socialist equity, to the results of national socioeconomic development and to the advances of human knowledge and culture. Accordingly the increasingly effective advancement of the people as a vital factor for socialist development and as purposeful makers of history cannot and certainly must not be treated in any idyllic or idealizing manner but in a realistic way always allowing for the whole dialectics of socialist social development under the present

conditions, the correlation between the objective economic factors and those concerning social organization and management, and the ratio between the possibilities for mass participation in social and state management that are provided by the structures of workers revolutionary democracy and the extent to which those possibilities are exploited.

But beyond these legitimate processes and this natural historical approach there are realities of cardinal importance to Romania's socialist development, namely the widespread and all-around promotion of workers revolutionary democracy in the "Nicolae Ceausescu Era" and the arrangements for further democratization of society and the state and for the masses' direct participation in social management, providing a broad and original field of action for manifestation of the people's sovereignty and for socialist construction according to the new values, namely with the people, by the people and for the people.

By their characteristic revolutionary spirit, by their new and original treatment, on the basis of historical and dialectical materialism and scientific socialism, of the problems of building the new society on Romanian soil, by their formulation of the current and long-range aims and tasks in a noteworthy synthesis, and by their impressively farsighted presentation of the courses of action to improve all components of Romanian society, the party secretary general's theoretical works once again bring out his exceptional personality, his great ability to generalize the results of socialist construction with a broad view to the future and to overcome boldly and creatively the principles that no longer suit the present stage of Romania's development, his unrelenting effort to improve social management and to strengthen the entire people's unity and solidarity around the party, and his constant concern for the nation's progress, the people's welfare, and provisions for broad development of the personality. His analyses and solutions of the vital problems of Romanian society today (from those concerning socialist ownership, self-management and self-administration to those of development of the party, state and workers democratic bodies, the correlations between the party and the working class and between the party and the nation, involvement of science and culture in accomplishing the aims of national socioeconomic development, and formation of the new man) are noteworthy for a truly creative spirit and a theoretical-ideological originality characteristic of the thought and action of Nicolae Ceausescu, the Romanian people's best loved son and an outstanding personality of the world of today.

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ACADEMICIAN REVIEWS LARGE HUNGARIAN 'HISTORY OF TRANSYLVANIA'

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[Article by Titus Popovici: "Methods and Styles in the Service of the Intentional Falsification of History"; passages within slantlines published in boldface or capitals]

[Text] A deep inner bitterness presides over the writing of these lines: Incredulity, stupefaction, indignation, anger, and the temptation to respond in kind—an action /unworthy/ of an intellectual who has not lost his self-respect, but, at any rate, explicable after reading in the original the 2,000 pages titled "Erdely Tortenete" (The History of Transylvania)—were decanted in this spiritual bitterness that must be expressed.

My mother, who studied in Budapest, inspired, from childhood, my interest in and love for the Hungarian language and Hungarian literature; my virgin sensibility received Eminescu and Petofy almost simultaneously and forever: "What I Wish You, Sweet Romania" and "Egy Gondolat Bant Engemet" (A Thought Haunts Me).

While brutal and contemptuous policemen with rooster feathers in their hats led us to the stock cars for expulsion—after Admiral (without "Grand") Miklos Horthy triumphantly entered Oradea, received as a bribe from Hitler and Mussolini, on a white horse with gold horseshoes presented respectfully by a rich Jewish hotelman who, with his entire family, went up in the awful smoke at Auschwitz 4 years later—Pistike and Jancsika, my pals in crazy games in the mysterious little streets of native Oradea, accompanied me to the railroad station, crying and asking me when I was coming back.

Later, an adolescent whose consciousness was deeply wounded by the pandemonium of fire, insanity, and bestiality generated by fascism' —an views, I felt that one of the basic tasks that merciless history — before our generation of intellectuals, Romanian and Hungarian, born and raised on this troubled land of Transylvania, was and would be to fight in the name of humanism to eradicate /for good/ the views, "theories," and prejudices that the ruling classes used—with effective skill, we must admit—to divide those who had nothing to share but misery, oppression, and hope in a better world. Naturally, this role, returning to us, the toilers of the word "that expresses the truth," fit into the broad, complex, not rarely difficult process initiated by

a party of internationalist outlook, which assumed the historical task of creating among people, nationalities, and nations that higher dialectical unity that cannot be achieved through denial, contempt, and, in the final analysis, the attempt to annihilate the other's personality, cultural treasure, and dignity, but only through understanding the lessons of history, through respect, mutual knowledge, collaboration in the common effort, and consistency in pursuing the goal that we proposed.

Consequently, I did not have peace of mind until I got myself "The History of Transylvania" that bears the endorsement of a generally respectable institution: the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. I passed long ago the age of surprises, but I cannot use anything but the word "/shock/" to describe the impression produced by reading, with pencil in hand, the respective publication. /Incredulity/ for proof of ignorance that would cause a middle-school pupil to fail a grade; /stupefaction/ for the nonchalant dissemination of "historical" fallacies long since refuted by the most elementary research in the most elementary sources; /anger/ for the provincial insults and calumnies uttered in a condescending tone. Toward the end of the 20th century, in a neighboring and friendly socialist country--if we take as a point of orientation, as is but natural, the official treaties that establish mutual relations in a new, socialist spirit--/after/ Hungarian political personalities have declared repeatedly that there is no intention of disputing the peace treaties resulting from the tragedy of World War II and that Hungary does /not/ have territorial claims in Transylvania, it is alarming for there to be published--not by a publishing house in the private sector (Maszek)--a voluminous work in which, incredibly, besides many other things that we will necessarily analyze briefly, even accents of racial hatred and contempt resound--because the absence of reason bears and /revives/ monsters--and /compels/ us to ask the classic question: What is the goal, the purpose of this action? Cui prodest? Is this operation, whose completion required, of course, time and effort, a "gratuitous act"? The expression of a /sudden/, uncontrolled impulse? A parody of the Kantian "an sich und fur sich" (in itself and for itself)? The logically possible answer, the only possible answer, leads to conclusions so serious that I feel that it is preferable to not consider (it would even be hard for us to do it) this publication a historical work, but...a novel. A cheap novel, I hasten to add, like those once published in the 15-Lei Collection in our country or the so-called "ponyva regeny" in Hungary. Alexandre Dumas senior, the titan of the popular, romantic, and lavish historical novel, accused of not much respecting historical data "ad litteram," answered with a keen witticism: "On peut violer l'histoire a condition de lui faire un enfant."

Without leniency for the "intellectual" makeup of the authors of this hybrid creation of a narrowmindedness and a distressing poverty even of the nuances, we will try to show how "Erdely Tortenete," the stillborn product of a gang rape of history, presents itself. As an initial example, the word "probably" (valoszinuleg), which does not exactly have any business in a historical work, but is still allowed in a novel, especially in the "ponyva" category, is repeated with a frequency that seems to demonstrate the linguistic poverty of the authors and the lack of vigilance of the editor: After I counted it over 100 times, I gave up. But on a more careful analysis, the passion for this adverb no longer seems to be simple negligence: Its use to repletion is meant

to facilitate the formulation of the most strident historical fallacies, since the presence of the providential "probably" always offers a loophole. Of course, such a "deontology" reflects a certain cowardliness. However, for the authors embarked on demonstrating the indemonstrable, it is important that this modest "probably" not negate, especially in the mind of the nonexpert reader, the effect of the scientifically unfounded or purely and simply false assertion.

Another procedure is part of a /technique/, about which Andre Malraux (the minister of culture in the time of General de Gaulle and--I apologize to the memory of the great French writer--thus the opposite number of Mr Bela Kopeczi, the "scientific" coordinator of this novel) said: "It is always a question of obtaining the conditioned reflex--that is, of causing a certain epithet, systematically attached to certain names, to link these names with the feelings that the epithet naturally arouses." Thus, the Romanian Army is called the Romanian Royal Army everywhere, in contrast to /only/ the Hungarian Army. An attempt is thus made to accredit the idea that the Romanian Army was always a class army, in contrast to the national or internationalist Hungarian Army. In the vast majority of the cases, the three /feudal/ nations (Unio Trium Nationum) are called /only/ nations, thus acquiring semantically the term's modern, /current/ attributes: An attempt is thus made to voluntarily create a false historical perception. Because, while the Romanian people were only tolerated within the /feudal/ nations, since the vast majority of them did not meet the basic requirement for belonging to the /feudal/ nation--Catholicism and Magyarization--the "removal" of the term "feudal" and the "substitution" of the idea of a nation in a modern sense are meant to create the impression that the Romanians were a nonentity. (In a card game, such "procedures" have a precise, disreputable name.)

Another method to which these "novelists" craving a profitable success (whose?) endlessly resort is taken from the arsenal of American commercial advertising of some 30 years ago (since the procedure is now banned in the United States by federal law). It was found that a frame praising such and such a product, inserted repeatedly during a movie, is not registered and received as such, but that it is fixed, for a while, in the subconscious. Thus, after she has cried at "Gone With the Wind," the spectator feels--she does not even know why--the irresistible desire to buy a /certain/ detergent. In the case of "The History of Transylvania," the favorite word that takes the slide's place is /migration/ (of the Romanians, obviously), which obsesses the authors. To imagine a populace that assembles and takes a long journey, crosses the Danube en masse, men, women, children, old people, settles in the Balkan Mountains, and stays there for 1,000 years, then, one day, assembles again and goes /right/ to the places that they left, not preserving in tradition, in legends, in songs, in folklore--not to mention material, archeological proof--/any/ trace of such a prodigious adventure, causes such a "history" to exile itself from the field of science and to "migrate"--to use a word dear to the authors with academic airs--to the areas of surrealism and abandonment of elementary logic and common sense. It is true that in moments of rare lucidity the amateur literati recognize that these movements of huge masses of people are "no less difficult to reconstruct in the last third of the 16th century" (and in the 10th century, /therefore/, we add), but they immediately return to their

"probably" (valoszinuleg) normal frame of mind and assert that they were "strong," then "large-scale", then "a massive wave of migration," and likewise in the ensuing centuries, even insinuating timidly toward the end of the many pages that it may occur even now. So that the "theory" of these permanent migrants can wear even the minuscule figleaf of approximate verisimilitude, the literati call the Romanians /exclusively/ shepherds. Starting "probably" (valoszinuleg) from the premise that this occupation is, by its nature, disreputable, they make no bones about presenting them as some submen, mentally undeveloped, living in the darkness of superstitions and in the promiscuity of polygamy; "very unstable, they almost could not be tied to the land." (Observe the stylistic subtlety of this "almost.") I wonder where this lordly contempt for one of the oldest and most /noble/ human pursuits comes from: the domestication and breeding of animals, an occupation that, keeping man in constant contact with nature, led him to understand its phenomena, enriched him spiritually, caused him to intuit and then to systematize and transmit to his descendants lessons in astronomy, geography, botany, veterinary medicine, and rational nutrition, formed in him an ethic of good cohabitation and mutual assistance and an artistic outlook that created works of a tremendous philosophical splendor ("The Ewe Lamb") far superior to, for instance, the chauvinistic monopolization of God to which such a great poet, a genius like Petofy, carried on the wave of nationalistic exaltation, was able to descend! ("A /magyarok/ istnere eskuszunk": We swear by the /God/ of the Hungarians--my emphasis) However, after all, what is to be admired more--even by some snobs who claim to be Marxists: the nomadic horse man who carries under his saddle, for tenderizing, meat stolen by force from these honest and peaceful workers? Of course, however, to vindicate the predator, you must humiliate the prey. The slave dealers, the slavers, did not do otherwise.

Reaching this point, my disgust is also provoked by the fact that the incredibly low level of this pretentious publication makes me, just by quoting from its pages, feel somehow intellectually diminished myself. Andre Malraux also observed in connection with the techniques of totalitarian propaganda that: "It is also a common procedure to lend to the enemy your own defects so that the reader no longer understands anything." The manipulators of words without any other cover than the chief editor's, "probably" (valoszinuleg) considering /migration/ a defect and very disreputable, try to exorcise it, throwing it at the Romanian people like something disgraceful. Only one who understands the role of the subconscious could decipher what inferiority complex, specific to the petty bourgeois who would give anything to be able to also boast of a hereditary coat of arms (in the present case, /continuity/ and /stability/), is hidden behind this scientifically suspect obstinacy.

In an at all scientific perspective, /migration/, which in the case of the Hungarians has always been called "honfoglalás"--(settlement in the homeland) sounds more noble!--is an /objective/ historical phenomenon: It does not diminish in any respect the qualities and many accomplishments of the present Hungarians, the descendants of a migratory people, but it does not confer on them the right to claim by virtue of /historical/ right (except in fantasy) territories that did not belong to them, since conquests create /possession/, not /ownership/!

The fact that the idea of "chosen" peoples no longer has any value now as an argument and thus the effort of concocting for one's ancestors /another/ status, /another/ biography, /another/ history, both futile and ridiculous, do not bother the historical fabricators, edited by their minister of culture. They go further, and after they have created this negative character, the invading Romanian shepherd, they also discover ambitions as linguists. And thus they establish "ex cathedra" that these migrants "probably" (valoszinuleg) did not have a language because the Dacians all died or were scattered, even reaching Britain. (If the demanding "logic" of Messrs Makkai & Co. [Laszlo Makkai and the other authors] were contagious, we too could be entitled to have first "historical," then..."let us see what" claims to Yorkshire, Sussex, or Wales!) Consequently, after the Dacians were wiped from the face of Transylvania together with their language, it also happened that the Roman soldiers and the colonists brought by Trajan...did not speak Latin! They spoke Greek, Iranian, Aramaic, they "probably" (valoszinuleg) spoke other languages, too, now unknown, but not Latin! With immodest modesty, the literati turned linguists overlook how it is that, after nearly 2 millennia of conditions of a hostility rarely encountered in world history, Romanian /is/ now one of the most vigorous Romance languages, with a grammatical structure /identical/ to Latin's and with a /basic stock/ of highly Latin words.

In order to amuse a little the reader whom distastefully we are carrying through the fetid territories of falsification, calumny, and dishonesty, we will say that "probably" (valoszinuleg), while they stayed for a millennium in unknown woods of the Balkans, the shepherds learned Latin there in some mysterious Sorbonne!

Finally, after they have exhausted their resources of linguistic fantasy, the authors become literati again and try to also usurp the field of humor--it is downright macabre--with an ability that "probably" (valoszinuleg) makes one of the great masters of this genre, the brilliant Frigyes Karinthy, spin in his grave. The fury with which they annihilate poor Anonymus, guilty of mentioning the existence of the Romanians established in state forms on Arpad's arrival, is humorous; the similarity that led to the execution of Stephan-Ludovic Roth in 1848, guilty of the crime of "introducing the Romanian language as an official language into the county's business; the protocol written in this language was presented to the court as a corpus delicti," as "revolutionary" Count Karacsay, who condemned Roth to death, informed John Paget, is macabre. The only question that the treatment applied to King Bela's notary raises in us is: Why is the statue of this falsifier still preserved in the middle of Budapest? In the painfully remembered time of dogmatism, within a "well-arranged" (konceptios per) trial, Mr Makkai, who has experience in ideological reincarnations, would have been able to accuse the poor notary-chronicler of being a spy and paid agent of Gelu and Menumurut. However, the macabre humor attains the sublime when we learn that the plague that ravaged Europe in 1348-1349...skipped the Romanians!!! However, the "creative" fantasy of the staff of librettists is nonetheless limited. It was possible to go further: It was possible to assert (which also counts) that "probably" (valoszinuleg) the invading Romanian shepherds invented bacteriological warfare "avant la lettre" and /they/ were the ones who spread the plague microbes, to thin out the Hungarian population and occupy its houses, "probably"

(valoszinuleg) after prior disinfection. The French saying "Il n'y a que le ridicule qui tue" (only ridicule kills) is not true: Otherwise Messrs Makkai & Co. would no longer gladden us with their presence on this earth.

However, since they have published the novel in the publishing house of an academy of /sciences/, we find it necessary to point out a few proofs of crass ignorance, equaled only by the arrogance that they display. We thus learn that in 1438 "a Turkish-Romanian-Serbian army led personally by Murad II headed toward Timisoara, with the more distant goal of reaching Buda.... The Turkish attackers were accompanied by Walachian Voivode Vlad Tepes" (!!!). To assert that Vlad Tepes, whose opposition to Ottoman expansion and whose victories fill with admiration the chronicles of the time (including the Ottoman chronicles) was--not being even once a party to this expansion--under a sultan's command is equivalent to announcing the marriage of the cardinal of Esztergom (a post made illustrious with so much self-sacrifice by Jozsef Mindszenty) to the daughter of an ayatollah! But someone better informed both about the historical truth and about the professional integrity of the impenitent revisionists, the scribblers, realizes that, just as there are "controlled skids," it is a question here of calculated ignorance. Such an error has a precise purpose, just as each gesture of a cheat is weighed and repeated for a long time; it tends to vindicate the "chivalrous" gesture of Matthias Corvinus, who, influenced by the calumnies of the Saxon merchants, invited Vlad Tepes to a meeting and threw him in prison, where he kept him for a decade, thus depriving the anti-Ottoman front of a military leader who had all the data for leading it to significant victories. (We will also discover such "noble, elegant, and even...revolutionary" procedures again, justified with a profusion of arguments.) Another type of ignorance, contemptuous this time, also appears in the way in which the names of Romanian personalities, voivodes or claimants to the throne, are transcribed: for example, Iarkula Saso, instead of Iancu Sasul, and Ivan Podkova, instead of Nicoara Potcoava.... However, we must not become indignant: The Magyarization of Christian names is an old tradition; in order to avoid it, the Romanians in Transylvania named their children Romulus, Remus, Titus, or Coriolanus. Thus, Ion automatically became Janos, Teodor became Tivadar, and Alexandru became Sandor.

The closer we get to eras in which the miraculous "probably" (valoszinuleg) can no longer be applied to the events, the apodictic calumny (*Academia Hungarica locuta est!*) begins to proliferate noisily as regard us, the Romanians, while the Hungarians, positive characters by definition, are so full of all the virtues that they become excessively superficial. Thus, the /endless/ struggle of the Romanian countries to defend their independence and block Ottoman expansion, which embraced all possible forms, is not only minimized but purely and simply presented with the sign changed. "As a position, its (Walachia's--author's note) voivodes meant no more than Turkish governors." This was in 1593, under Michael, "to which, /later/ (our emphasis), the appositive 'brave' was also added..." "The Turks had to understand, as in 1551-1556, that Transylvania was not Walachia or Moldavia and that...it could become very dangerous..." "The path of the Romanian voivodeships reduced to the fate of flunkies," /and so on/ ad nauseam. For knowing the degree of intellectual decay to which an uncontrolled bias or a mentality unpurged of the vestiges of thinking perverted by impotent hatred can lead, it is also instructive to be

able to read such assertions about the only countries in central and southeast Europe that were /never/ reduced to the status of a pashalic, not because the Porte would not have desired it, but because it was convinced, from its own military experience, that this was impossible--while the calls to prayer of the muezzins rang from the minarets of the mosques in Buda for more than a century and a half. But then, through a biased contrast, when "the /elite element/ of society, the /Hungarian nobles/" (my emphasis), came into diplomatic contact with the Ottomans, the tune changes. "Beginning in 1556, the pro-Turkish policy was the cornerstone of the leadership of the /eastern Hungarian state/" (another euphemistic way of alleging Transylvania's organic affiliation with Hungary!) is asserted solemnly, as about a remarkable success. It is true that the "elite" elements remained faithful to this cornerstone for a long time, since in 1877--when the Romanian Army was gaining the country's full independence in Grivita and Plevna--they also publicly and officially desired victory by Osman Pasa! Remarkable logic! After they make a claim to fame, often exaggerated, from their only anti-Ottoman resistance, mentioning briefly the "isolated" Romanian "cases" (which were named Mircea the Great, Vlad Tepes, Stephen the Great, Petru Rares, Prince John the Ferocious, and Michael the Brave), the amateur novelists go to the opposite pole with an almost amusing ease. Still more could be said, if the technique of falsification and distortion would not become, eventually, tiresome and boring through its persistent monotony.

In my eyes, research on the events in 1848 acquires an essential importance, going beyond the strictly historical framework. I have always felt that the key to many later events is found in the tragedy of this revolution and that only a sincere investigation, free of all the declamatory or unilateral banalities, a /scientific/ analysis based on documents and performed objectively and rigorously, can contribute to the formulation of all the conclusions so necessary for the ultimately natural resolution of the national problem on this land, where even the existence of the oldest and most numerous inhabitants had been denied. On a superficial reading, it would seem that the authors of "The History of Transylvania" are suddenly animated by the desire to ponder *sine ira et studio* the responsibilities for the collapse of a revolution that seemed to have every chance of changing the destiny of Europe, becoming one of those crucial events that decisively influence the course of history. Unfortunately, however--with somewhat more ability, it is true--all the methods (more correctly put: tricks) unworthy of a historian, of a scientist, of a man of culture purely and simply, reappear here too: the gratuitous assertions, without cover, the distortion of obvious facts, the malicious insinuations, the avoidance or ignoring of evidence that does not fit, the diminution or belittling of the Romanians and their role--all disguised as objectivism sitting under the wing of a jesuitic "*reservatio mentalis*."

Let us see, therefore, how the "critical view" looks, giving the authors the floor. "In the course of the bitter self-examination that came after Siria, the immigrants came to recognize the fact that the obtaining of independence was conditioned on collaboration with the other peoples of /historical/ Hungary, especially the Romanians in Transylvania." That is, of that Hungary that included Transylvania by virtue of the arbitrary decision of the Cluj Diet, which unilaterally proclaimed the union of Transylvania with Hungary

without the participation of the Romanians, against their will, the /main/ cause of the military conflict that followed. The reader will ask: ...On what /new/, ultimately clear bases, deduced by examining the causes of the defeat, was this collaboration to take place? We hasten to answer: On the /same/ ones regarding which Avram Iancu stated that the Romanians were disposed to die to a man rather than agree to them, their acceptance being equivalent to national suicide. But let us see how, in reality, the "bitter self-examination" looks. I have before me a splendid edition in 5 massive volumes, totaling over 2,500 pages, published under quite exceptional conditions: "AZ 1848-49 Magyar Szabadsagharc Története" (The History of the Hungarian Fight for Freedom in 1848-1849) by Gyorgy Gracza, published in Budapest by the Robert Lampel Publishing House (F. Wodianer & Sons) in December 1894--thus, nearly half a century after the events, enough time for a self-examination, even unbitting. The heroic battles waged by the Hungarian revolutionary Armies against a foe that surpassed them numerically, the brilliant victories, the defeats, and the final martyrdom of the generals hanged in Arad are described truthfully, with emotion, with talent, thrillingly. Things change radically and become literally disgusting when it comes to the Romanians. "Nomadic shepherds, mentally undeveloped, happy in the darkness of their backwardness, an uncultured herd...." (Where have I already read such "uplifting" judgments?) The heroes of the Romanian revolution, Abraham Iancu, Szeverusz Axente, "these two monsters with a human appearance (ket emberi szornyeteg), Miklos Belecescu, another agitator (masik agitator), who... (!) spoke on the Plain of Freedom (where he never was--author's note) before a crowd which... (look out: the all-saving word "probably" (valoszinuleg) also appears here in the work) did not even know what was going on, but which, of course (termeszeteesen), blindly followed Miklos Belecescu's (I hope that it is understood that it is a question of Nicolae Balcescu) suggestion that a delegation go to Vienna to assure the emperor of the loyalty of the Romanians" (!!).

It is well known that the old Hungarian historiography was characterized by the insistent appeal to unbridled fantasy and verbal incontinence. Here are just a few of the epithets with which Simon Barnucz, Janos Butyaniu, and Peter Dobra are "honored": "...Hyenas, walking in blood to their knees..., cutting off the breasts of women..., killing babies with special spears (it is a question of "straightened scythes") whose design includes a ferocious picture of Abraham Iancu, from whose hands skulls, whips, chains, and manacles hang like trinkets." In 1894, the "bitter self-examination," regarding which we are assured that it would have taken place after Siria, looked like that.

However, let us leave Gyorgy Gracza, a forerunner of Messrs Makkai & Co., and see how the respective historical conscientious scruples look in the latter's view.... "Back in Brussa, in Turkey, Kossuth got in touch with Ion Ghica, who (with Balcescu's approval), in the spring of 1850, raised to him the idea of a Hungarian-Romanian-Serbian confederation, but at that time the former governor did not yet want to take on obligations...." (Probably the process of self-examination had not begun!) "Teleki recommended in vain to him acceptance of the plan, he (Kossuth) seeing in it particularly the Romanian inclination to swallow up Transylvania" (my emphasis [none published]: without comments!). It is true that, back in June 1850, Kossuth himself pointed out that Hungary "either has no future or, if it has, its future is to form a federation with

the smaller, neighboring nations," but—the authors vindicate him—"on the basis of the intermingling among Hungary's nationalities and of the impossibility of territorially delimiting them, he repeatedly rejected the idea of breaking up the unity of the /historical/ Hungarian state" (my emphasis: a fixed idea). Later on. "The two groups of refugees tried to convince each other of the correctness of their position. The Romanians clung to the concessions regarding territorial autonomy (a serious counterrevolutionary fault "probably" (valoszinuleg), in the eyes of the authors!) and the Hungarians to the historical right 'behind which is a cannon!'" (this phrase of Count Andrassy's is the most sincere expression of the "bitter self-examination"!).

The "method" of Messrs Makkai & Co. is clear: First a false premise is offered as a conclusion—"After Siria, the Hungarian refugees bitterly examined themselves"—then immediately, all the arguments and "ideas" that /forced/ the Romanians to take arms to defend their directly and openly threatened national being were uncritically revived as such.... "At one time," the staff coordinated by the editor-minister judges, "Kossuth had a brilliant idea (zsentialis ötlet): In essence, he separated state life from the political organization of the various nationalities in such a way that he left the former in the hands of the Hungarian landowners and intellectuals and integrated the latter into an ad hoc formula, independent of the state apparatus, so that their importance and influence would evolve according to the free play of the real forces in determining the future of the state (and the various regions)...." Even a political illiterate realizes what could be the result of the "free" play between the /real/ force of the state organization, found in the hands of the landowners, and the ad hoc formula of organizing "probably" (valoszinuleg) into kinds of clubs, cultural and religious associations of the nationalities! And in volume 3 of "The History of Transylvania," this staff is amazed that in 1918, to the exasperated question by Oszkar Jaszi (who proposed nearly identical solutions to the Romanian National Council)—"At bottom, what do the Romanians want?"—Iuliu Maniu answered in a nutshell: "Permanent separation!" (teljes elszakadas!).... But let us see how the brilliant idea (a zsentialis ötlet) is continued. "For a start"—the literati turned historians reassure us with claims of objectivity—"he did not want to totally destroy the privileged position of the Hungarian ruling class, but offered serious guarantees...." Trying to preserve our calm in the face of such a monument of insolence, let us see what "serious guarantees" Lajos Kossuth offered to the Romanians in 1848, when he was governor of Hungary, with dictatorial powers, and not some refugee, reduced to the charity of the Ottomans in Brussa.

In an appeal (kladvány) to the Romanian people (az olah Nephez), signed on behalf of the "National Defensive Commission organized by the diet" (Az ország védelmére megbízott országgyűlési választmány) (an appeal republished in: Lajos Kossuth, "Összes Munkái" (Complete Works), XIII (III), Budapest, 1952, pp 153-154), after he promised social rights to the Romanians—of course, within the /historical/ Hungarian state and in exchange for abandoning the demand for political nationality—the revolutionary leader advised them: "Therefore, take care that, letting yourselves be deceived, you do not somehow incur total annihilation..., because, otherwise, as sure as there is a God in heaven..., it is certain that the harshness of punishment will fall on the heads of the guilty, and our brave army—which has just scattered a herd of traitors to the

homeland (they were Serbs, called by the pejorative term "raczok," who were also fighting with weapons in hand for the recognition of national rights)—will go after you, and then woe to each instigator. At that time, it would be better for you not to have been born, because not one of those who has rebelled against the homeland can expect mercy. /But also until then/ (my emphasis: that is, until someone rebels, because up to the appearance of this generous and intelligent appeal, the Romanians had taken no armed action!), orders will be given to the Hungarians and Szeklers to rise and, like a hurricane, sweep away each piece of ungrateful garbage,...so that the Hungarian people rise en masse and wipe from the face of the earth each rebel and traitor to the homeland who does not want to listen to good advice." Later on, the revolutionary governor becomes even more specific regarding the fate of those who do not willingly abandon their nationality and nourish the "counter-revolutionary" demand to /also/ be recognized: "Their land will be taken and will be divided among the loyal sons of the homeland, and they will die by the hand of the executioner or by the sword." In the face of this grim document, you ask: What could be the response of a populace that valued its dignity more than life? How true Balcescu's harsh judgment sounds: "Kossuth governed weakly and poorly; he proved even more to me that a demagogue cannot be a statesman. He lost Hungary."

Should we mention more? For example, the words of Pal Vasvari, the "Hungarian Demosthenes," the fiery freedom fighter, who, however, as soon as he referred to the Romanians, became inhumanly ferocious? "Let us extend one hand in friendship to the sympathetic ones, but the merciless sword of vengeance should shine in the other. We are obliged to convince them by words and with proclamations. (The facts would have been more convincing!) But on those who are not converted (that is, do not willingly accept denationalization--author's note) and continue to rebel, we pronounce the sentence: These people have been exterminated!" (e faj kiirtatott). The handsome and enthusiastic young man paid with his life for this dark part of his thinking, at Fintinele, under the axes and scythes of the Romanians from the area of the Apuseni Mountains, who, "traitors to the homeland and counterrevolutionaries," wanted neither to be converted nor, with arms folded, to accept being exterminated.

Should we mention Lajos Csany, the general commissioner of Transylvania, whose 4 months in office drove even Polish General Iosif Bem to exasperation, through the cruelty and oppression to which more than 6,000 Romanians fell victim, besides the nearly 40,000 killed during the revolution in the hundreds of burned villages? It was natural for Count Csany to behave like that, since his opinion of the Romanians was: "Since mankind has existed, nowhere in the countless pages of history is anything said about the freedom of your national life. You were flunkies in the time of the Romans, you were flunkies under the migratory peoples (therefore, they nonetheless found Romanians here!), you were flunkies even later in the course of the centuries."

The same Count Csany, an old, sickly man, Kossuth's best friend, died as a hero during the counterrevolutionary reign of terror of Haynau, "the hyena of Brescia," wringing tears even from the executioner: He kissed the noose with which he was going to be hanged, saying: "And this I support gladly, for my country! (Hazamert ezt is szivesen)...."

What foolish pride, what unhealthy hypertrophy of chauvinistic nationalism, what spiritual dichotomy caused these people, ready at any time for the supreme sacrifice for the cause of freedom, to deny it with blind rage to other peoples, especially the Romanians? In the letter to Brigadier Jozsef Simonffy, who made a last desperate attempt, when it was too late, in fact, to find a way of settling the Romanian-Hungarian conflict, Avram Iancu wrote: "Believe us, brother, that we must confess with the greatest heartbreak that we have used until now weapons against our oppressors; however, through this statement we do not want to dishonor the character of the entire Hungarian nation, no!—may the God of the peoples keep us from that! We want to awaken you and show you that between us there is a worm that will gnaw at your root; vengeance personified has become established in your senate,...so that you cannot gain the sympathy of a populace close-knit by its nature,...so that you cannot gain the sincere friendship of a populace virtuous for centuries, just as you also saw it when its hand was weaponless and as the critical times that threaten us in the future will also show you!"

The act of characterizing as "counterrevolutionary" the unanimous movement of a people whose leader responded /in that way/ to the wave of insults and threats (of which I have quoted only a tiny part) spares me the effort of characterizing the intellectual morality, the political integrity, and even the simple human decency of the publication titled "Erdely Tortenete"!... To the immense figure of Avram Iancu, a Romanian hero of Transylvania, who will endure forever through the purity and consistency of his revolutionary ideal, through the conscious sacrifice of his whole life, through his personal tragedy, /a tragedy of lucidity/, the team of pseudohistorians sheltered under the columns of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences gives a few condescending lines, quickly eclipsed by negative characterizations, while—to take an example at random—even the failure of the indecisive Zsigmond Bathory (the one with such a pitiful role in the time of Michael the Brave) in the marriage bed on the night of the wedding with Maria Kristierna is mentioned!

But the inclination to "subtly" mislead seems to have become second nature to the above-mentioned, and here is how Iancu is presented after the defeat of the revolution: "The idolized leader of the Romanian people in the mountains then fought with the frenzy of a powerless lion shut in a cage. In Cimpeni, he knocked the two-headed eagle from the clock tower, urged the people to resist, then attacked the cadastral registrars, until he was arrested in 1858 and treated roughly in prison. Under the weight of the moral and political responsibility that suddenly (hirtelen) overwhelmed him in the final years, the total collapse of his local objectives with regard to improving the situation of his nation..., his nervous system no longer held out."

Overlooking the calculated banality of the statements, there would be nothing objectionable if the little word "/suddenly/," apparently innocent, did not expose the technique that these conjurers of matters historical use and abuse. What is this "suddenly," insinuating, meant to say? Only what is asserted in all the false theses of the old and new Hungarian historiography about the character of the Romanian revolution in 1848! If Iancu was /suddenly/ overwhelmed /just/ in 1858 by the weight of his moral and political /responsibility/, it means that earlier—that is, during the events—he did not have it!

Consequently, he "probably" (valoszinuleg) "trusted" in the Hapsburg promises. He did not trust in them for a moment, but he had no choice; the Kossuth government's policy on the nationalities had not left him any other chance! Moreover, Lajos Kossuth had declared clearly, in his usual bombastic style, to the Romanian deputies of Banat and Transylvania in the Hungarian parliament: "When someone wants nationality, he should earn it with his weapons!" The mere reading of the well-known letter to Colonel Simonffy could have explained to the obstinate distorters of the evidence in what /conscious/ political relations Avram Iancu stood: "Do not believe, gentlemen, that our rebellion occurred because of Austria's deceit (as you are poorly informed), but we were incited by the nonrecognition of political nationality, by the tyranny and barbarity of the Hungarian Transylvanian conservatives and aristocrats, whom the people in this era were no longer able to bear and with whom the intelligentsia was completely disgusted; we were forced to raise arms and bear them against the one who more closely exploited us and oppressed our political existence." Can anything be clearer, more unequivocal? Let us not forget that these pages were written at a time when the fate of the Hungarian revolution was clearly sealed, 3 months before General Arthur Gorgey's surrender at Siria. Some could consider them political rashness vis-a-vis the Austrians; I consider them proof of a revolutionary purity unsullied by opportunism. To the statements and appeals of the Hungarian revolutionary leaders who offered the choice between extermination and a kind of political, cultural, and civil "apartheid," the young prefect responded: "Brothers, believe us that we see very clearly and believe strongly that in these /two sister countries/ (my emphasis: Iancu firmly rejected the idea of historical Hungary!) the Hungarian cannot speak of the future and of his existence without the Romanian, or the Romanian without the Hungarian. We believe and see clearly that a gigantic element that will soon overwhelm us wants to get its hands on us and on you one of these days, and only traces of our existence will remain!..." Probably, the chief editor was not familiar with these documents, this did not enter into his competence; the general, political orientation of the publication entered into his competence. But those who claim to be historians?

We could also analyze how "The History of Transylvania" presents the death of the unfortunate Deputy Ioan Dragos, who, animated by the sincere desire to bring together the two revolutionary forces, had come to Iancu and to whom Kossuth had personally given a safe-conduct with the value of an armistice, and at the same time, the same Kossuth ordered Major Imre Hatvani to sneak into the citadel, impregnable until then, of the Apuseni Mountains, an action of military and revolutionary ethics that does not need any comment. Ignominiously defeated in his made dash, Hatvani killed Prefects Buteanu and Dobra, who had trusted in the word of the governor of Hungary! We could quote in full, for the outlook that results from it, Sever Axente's order to his lancers (poorly paraphrased by the authors) after the surrender at Siria, from which we glean: "It seems that the conflict that flared up a year ago between us and the Hungarians will end. The suffering of both parties is so great that no one can speak or write about it.... If you still find Hungarian recruits and soldiers wandering in the forest, disarm them, give them food in a bag, a guide, and a route! ...From now on, it is a violation to kill Hungarians, and death will be punished with death!"

I compared two revolutionary attitudes, two ethics. My hope that at least the Hungarian historians of today would be capable of an examination that, after the passage of a century and a half, no one wants to be even bitter, but just simply objective, was rapidly shattered: Less virulent in expression, even drawing small critical pictures (the march of the Szeklers, who went after the Romanians with candles burning, as in a procession, and then, after looting, began to fight among themselves around the loot, suffering more losses than during the battle), Messrs Makkai & Co. revive with the most ambiguous statements the same "theories," the same mentalities of aristocrats filled with obtuseness, because of which--I am firmly convinced of this--the greatest European chance failed. Their deliberate persistence in error spares me from dwelling further on that time, although /there is no phrase/ into which, speaking of the Romanians, a falsehood, a calumny, an insinuation does not sneak. I conclude by paraphrasing the Vergilian "Timeo Danaos et dona ferrentes" (I fear Greeks, especially when they bear gifts), saying "Timeo rerum scriptorum Hungaros veritatem se dicere dicentes" (I fear the Hungarian historians when they assert that they speak the truth).

However, their distortions and falsifications do not produce fear. At most, contempt.

The closer we get to the contemporary eras, the inevitable question arises with the force of necessity: Ultimately, what is the final /goal/ of this massive publication, to which goal the authors' appreciable effort, but only on a strictly quantitative plane, is subordinated, because, from a viewpoint of content, of research methods, of political philosophy, it is possible to apply to it, perfectly, Talleyrand's remark about the French aristocratic emigration from Koblenz: "Ils n'ont rien appris, et rien oublié"? They learned nothing and forgot nothing. We understand that for the academic staff the open expression of a purpose, of a conclusion, is--under current conditions--impossible: It would mean the frank admission of revanchist, revisionist intentions, and such an assumption of a serious responsibility is neither in the character of the professional integrity of the authors nor in their possibilities, even if the publication's chief editor, Mr Bela Kopeczi, is a member of the Hungarian Government.

However, the Hungarian immigrants, who seem to have great material resources, if we consider the quantity and variety of the forms of propaganda that they disseminate on every occasion, are very active in this matter of reviving and recirculating the most virulent old revisionist slogans. A unity that would be impressive if it were forged around a constructive purpose rallies to the false problem of "the minorities in Romania" all those who live beyond the borders of the Hungarian People's Republic, from the old people who supported Szalasi to the relatively younger people, some of them even "leftwing," who fled the country after the events in 1956 and even later. Unchecked by any sort of consideration that would result--in other cases--from interstate documents, these publications, which are numerous, voice openly the purpose that "inspires" their leading lights. Despite the repulsion and the painful memories revived by the tone of these publications, despite the concern for not awakening useless and harmful resentment in the minds of some of the more emotionally unstable among the younger generations, which the Romanian Communist

Party, the country's laws on the rights and duties of the nationalities (the same for all inhabitants of Romania), and the common effort to uplift the common socialist homeland have formed in the spirit of fraternal cohabitation, of mutual respect and esteem, the noxious frequency of such manifestations compels us to reproduce a sample. After the laborious reading of the 2,000 pages titled "Erdely Tortenete," the sample's tone does not seem unfamiliar to us. Of course, this is without the consent and to the maximum indignation--still unexpressed publicly!--of those who, concocting a "/history/" of Transylvania where all the "theses," all the "theories," the whole outlook of the classes condemned by history reappear in a more or less veiled form, objectively encourage the noisy and persistent intrigues of those who, exiling themselves from their own country, have also lost ipso facto any right to speak for it.

It is a question of a manifesto published recently and disseminated by the Hungarian Freedom Fighters Federation (Magyar Szabadsagharcs Szovetseg): "Dear fellow citizens! Today, when our brothers in Transylvania are living under cruel Romanian oppression, can we do nothing? Although we are scattered over the world and compelled to keep quiet, we must act for our children, for the old people, for the mothers and relatives in Transylvania. What dearer ideal can a Hungarian have at the end of this century than to fight for the Hungarian homeland? Let us not sink into the darkness of forgetfulness and apathy, let us hasten the time when the mother country will again lie within its sacred borders. Let us be ready for this moment. Let us utter like a prayer of encouragement, like an oath of allegiance, Csaba Ducso's words: 'I will kill every Romanian that crosses my path. I will annihilate them one and all! Without mercy! At night, I will set fire to the Romanian villages. I will cleave the inhabitants with my sword. I will poison the wells. I will strangle the babies. I will be merciless! To all! I will not have mercy for children or for pregnant women. Vengeance! Merciless, brutal vengeance!' This is the ideal of our struggle. Only united will we be victorious. We must carry Transylvania in our blood and not forget it even in sleep. Let us awaken confidence and hope in our brothers in Transylvania and fight. Like good Hungarians. Like true Hungarians."

Does "The History of Transylvania" (Erdely Tortenete) really give an at all convincing, at all politically committed response to the theories of hatred and contempt that give rise to such promptings to repeat--on a wider scale--the horrors in Ip and Traznea, in Moisei and Sarvas? With profound regret, in the name of the respect that I nourish and will always nourish for the eternal values of Hungarian culture, for the work of Petofy and Jokai, Ady and Kosztolanyi, Atilla Jozsef and Babics, who substantially enriched the spiritual treasury of mankind, thus also my spirit and thinking, the answer is a categorical /no/. The "outlook" that lies at the basis of this voluminous manifesto, bearing surreptitiously the title of a "history," is set, like a weak dam, in fact, against the noble, romantic, tumultuous current, full of shining generosity, that characterizes /true/ Hungarian culture, which endeavors like those of Messrs Makkai & Co., even under the lax supervision of the editor-minister, do nothing but try--in vain--to dishonor!

I would like to dissociate myself from them, as Marx said that mankind dissociates itself from its past, laughing. But I cannot. They have raked up too

many painful memories, some of them personal, others that I carry—a burden of a past of oppression and humiliation, but especially of endless struggle—from my ancestors.

And then, now, in order to address a final word to these woeful knights of a suppressed and lost cause, I appeal to the end of the poem "The Ancestors" by Goga, whose friendship, esteem, and communion in a high progressive spirit with Endre Ady should be, in aeternum, a spur, but especially an example. "I see you, and my army at home / I urge slowly to slip in.... / Along all hatred leaves me, / Because your poverty distresses me...."

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CSO: 2700/190

INCREASED EMIGRATION OF MONTENEGRO ALBANIANS TO U.S. REPORTED

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Mar 87 p 5

[Article by Ljubomir Mudresa: "To America By Way of Emigrant Camps"]

[Text] From the Titograd opstina area alone, over 1,300 people—mostly young people—have left to go across the ocean. According to knowledgeable sources, this emigration does not have political motives, only economic ones. However, there is a political component—in the majority of cases emigration is accomplished in an organized manner through emigrant camps in Italy. A condition for acceptance in the camp is the emigrant stating that he comes from Albania and not Yugoslavia.

The emigration of predominantly Albanian residents from the area of the Titograd, Plav and Bar opstinas has increased somewhat in recent years. The saying goes that they are looking for a better way of life. However, for centuries people have been leaving Montenegro to go abroad in search of employment. Most go to the U.S. and to other countries on the American continent. Although there are no precise data, knowledgeable sources say that several thousand people have already moved, predominantly young people. From the area of the Titograd opstina alone, over 1,300 have left. True the differences in emigration between then and now are apparent. Not so long ago, people left by steamers usually with no money in their pockets, and landed in countries across the ocean after a voyage of many days. Today, this is accomplished by much more modern, faster, and more expensive means. One might then justifiably ask the following question: are the young, unemployed people who are leaving, as well as the others, those who are waiting for employment in their communities, or is there something else in question? In search of the answer to this question we recently stayed in border towns along the Yugoslav-Albanian border from where the majority of them usually leave.

They Must Say They Are From Albania

From Tuza to the Yugoslav-Albanian border and the villages of Malesija, the modern asphalt highway bisects Tusko Polje which is laden with modern, graceful, multi-storied private buildings erected in contemporaneously equipped vineyards and orchards. People are engaged in agriculture.

We talked with Toma Ivezaj, a teacher at the elementary school in Hota. He said: "My village of Kreseno is almost empty today. Out of over 100 houses which we had not long ago, now there are barely 10. However, emigration started back in 1968. Mostly young people have moved away, although there are cases in which entire families have left. People are leaving and several thousand residents are living as emigrants because of economic reasons. You know, people influence one another to leave. I have three sons and a daughter in America. Now even my wife has left, and what else is there for me to do when I retire but to go with them."

Ivezaj said that in 1968 emigration started first of all on an individual basis; it would later be organized, and this was done through the refugee camps of Kapul, Kasert, and Latin in Italy. One of the residents of these camps was Nica Djokaj. In 1968 he left for the Italian camp of Kapul. Usually, everything in the camp was free—an apartment and food, for example.

However, everyone, if they wanted to go farther, had to state that they were from Albania because Yugoslavs were sent back. After three years Djokaj returned to his homeland. He said: "I wouldn't go back for any amount of money. It is a difficult life and an uncertain journey." Rok Dusaaj recently kept his two brothers from going. The brothers, Marko and Maras, had decided to go, but as soon as it was explained to them how much money they had to put out for the trip, they changed their minds. And they had also heard many other things.

At the Titograd office of JAT they have known about the so-called "Mexican connection" for a number of years, and there is every indication that they have benefited not a little from it. Thus, for a round-trip ticket between Titograd and Mexico City one needs to have over 90 million old dinars, not counting another \$1,000 for the rest of the trip from Mexico City to Tijuana.

"Groups are formed in Titograd," said Toma Ivezaj, "which are directed by 'organizers' during the trip, even in Mexico. When the young people arrive in Mexico City, a reception is 'organized' for them by some of 'our people.' They fly to Tijuana by airplane, and subsequently they go on foot, illegally, over the border into the U.S. After their arrival, of course, they hand over their passports, visas, and another \$2,000-\$3,000 for the illegal crossing over the border to the organizers. However, most of the time they cross the Mexican-American border without 'guides.' For several days they go through mountains and roadless areas. My son went by this route. Today he says he wouldn't do it again for any amount of money."

The Mexican Connection and Tracking Down Emigrants

The refugees' problems begin when they arrive in the U.S. Tracking down emigrants and the offering of rewards by various unfriendly organizations instead of "welcomes" are the usual phenomena. However the "organization"

operates irreproachably and many of our enthralled young men earn large amounts of money in this.

Djerdja Camaj, an elementary school teacher in the village of Hota said: "Two hundred people have left this village. The worse thing of all is that the children have little interest in studying, probably reasoning-- I am going to America, why study? Not long ago the school had 380 pupils and now there are around 180. It is not true, as some 'well-intentioned people' have said, that there are political pressures causing people to leave."

The president of the assembly of local communities of Tuza said: "Perhaps people from the mountain areas are driven by economic motives; however, it is incorrect to the emigration from these areas together with emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo."

The president of the Plav OK SSO, Vehbija Sabotic, said: "A number of young people from the Plav opstina have a higher education. For these people, the long wait for employment can probably be given as a reason for leaving, but there are also other young people who, because of a few promises or immaturity, leave unprepared. The number who remain at the border is not small--the ones who have died."

Supporting this is the fact that only last year 10 young people from the Plav opstina died at the Mexican-American border.

We also talked with the executive secretary of the Presidency of the OK of the Titograd LCY, Franj Ljuljdjuraj. He said: "Approximately 1,300 people have left the area of the Titograd opstina. This, of course, has to be of concern to society. Among these people were those with a higher education. In all of this--if I might say so--there is the fortunate situation in that each of them has relatives or close friends in America, and if they do not find employment after three or four months, they come back. The fact is that all of them become targets for Albanian extremist organizations, although for now there are no cases of anyone joining them. Furthermore, the young think that they can get rich as soon as possible, and there are those who are engaged in smuggling drugs. The fact that several of these people are in foreign prisons confirms that many of them do not know what lies in store for them."

How do we stop emigration? Of course, administrative measures involving forbidding issuance of passports would help the least, because Yugoslavia is an open country and free travel along with respect of norms overlooked by the law is a private matter of the individual. Thus, a solution should be sought in more rapid development of the border areas of Montenegro.

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RELIGIOUS LEADERS ATTEND ZAGREB NEW YEAR'S RECEPTION

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 16 Jan 87 p3

[Article by I. Besker: "We Cannot Survive Except Through Brotherhood"]

[Text] Zagreb--"Relations between society and the religious communities improved last year as well. There was more of a basis for a positive assessment, even though some essentially extreme incidents should not be neglected--consequently they should mostly serve as a warning, but we should all try together to see that there are even less of them." This assessment was expressed by Andjelko Runjic, the president of the Croatian Assembly, in the toast at the traditional New Year's reception for representatives of the religious communities in Croatia, which was held on Thursday at the Courts in Zagreb's Upper City.

Among the representatives of the social community were member of the Croatian Presidency Ivo Latin, President of the Presidency of the Republic Committee of the SSRNH [Socialist Alliance of Working People of Croatia] Marijan Kalanj, President of the Executive Council of the Croatian Assembly Antun Milovic, President of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts Jakov Sirotkovic, chairman of the Commission of the Executive Council of the Croatian Assembly for Relations With the Religious Communities Zdenko Svete, secretary of the Federal Executive Council's Commission for Relations With the Religious Communities Radovan Samardzic, chairman of the Committee of the Republic Conference of the SSRNH for the Social Issues of Religion and vice president of JANU Andre Mohorovic, president of the Assembly of the City of Zagreb Mato Mikic, and other representatives of the public life of Croatia and Zagreb.

Common Principles

The guests from the religious communities included Cardinal Franjo Kuharic, the president of the Bishops' Conference and Zagreb's Roman Catholic Archbishop and Metropolitan; Nikolaaj (Mrdja), bishop of the Orthodox Dalmatian Eparchy; Sevkko Omerbasic, the Zagreb Moslem Imam; Slavko Golstein, the president of the Jewish Community in Zagreb; Vladimir Deutsch, deacon of the Matija Vlacic Liric Theological Faculty and head of the Evangelical Church in Zagreb; Josip Horak, former president of the Baptist communities in Yugoslavia and vice president of the World Baptist Alliance; Slavomir Mikovs, bishop of

the Greek Catholic Krizevci Diocese; Zagreb Assistant Bishop Djuro Koksa; dean of the Catholic Theological Faculty in Zagreb Bonaventura Duda; Vjekoslav Bajsic, vice president of the "Modern Christianity" Theological Society; Archpriest Zarko Uskokovic, president of the Federation of the United Orthodox Clergy of Yugoslavia; Dr Peter Kuzmic, president of Christ's Pentecostal Church; Sister Inviolata Gracanin, president of the Union of Higher Religious Orders' Superiors; Archpriest Petar Samardzija, president of the Association of Orthodox Priests in Croatia; Zagreb Archpriest Jovan Nikolic, vice president of that Federation and deputy bishop; and other representatives of religious communities in Croatia. A large number of guests did not arrive at the Courts because of traffic problems.

Offering New Year's greetings to the representatives of the religious communities, Runjic said, among other things, "We are deeply convinced that in your responsible positions, in addition to the humanist and moral principles upon which your faiths are based, you will always keep in mind as well those that are common to all of us, upon which our society is being built. Among these principles, especially with respect to those which stress humanism, there cannot be any antagonism and exclusion." Emphasizing that one should never forget that we are a multinational and multireligious country, and thus anything that could cause divisions and antagonisms among the citizens of the SFRY is harmful to both the social community and the religious communities, Runjic stressed, "In spite of all this complexity, or perhaps because of it, our people are profoundly aware that we cannot survive except in togetherness."

Equality and Mutual Respect

Our commitment is still to self-management, nonalignment, fraternity and unity, togetherness, the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] decisions, and self-reliance, Runjic said, adding, "Religious communities which support the positions of the vital interest of their own people, while always taking into account the interests of others, have and will have broad scope for their religious activity in our social community. Therefore, there can be no doubt about whether religious communities have a positive social role in speaking out about the dilemmas of modern man. The vital condition is that this should not serve subversion, but rather understanding, togetherness, and mutuality."

Runjic condemned attempts to obstruct the implementation of the policy that we have committed ourselves to through narrowmindedness or intolerance, regardless of whether this comes from the ranks of the religious communities or forces with sectarian inclinations within the social community.

Linking his New Year's greetings with a desire to build a better world of peace and justice for every people and every person in equality and mutual respect, Cardinal Kuharic, citing the Pope's message for this year's World Peace Day, said: "The time in which we are living is a difficult one, and this affects many individuals and peoples. So many crises and problems are exerting pressure on the modern world. While many suffer poverty and hunger, billions and billions in monetary funds are being spent for the most terrible weapons in all nations, the knowledge of thousands of scientists is invested

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